Vol. LIII—No. 2.

Assembly Proceedings

Official Report

Bengal Legislative Assembly

Fourth Session, 1938

8th, 9th and 10th August, 1938

Superintendent, Government Printing
Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal
1938

Published by the Superintendent, Government Printing
Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal

Agents in India.

Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., Printers and Booksellers, College Street, Calcutta
Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta

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T

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THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

(Official Report of the Fourth Session.)

Volume LIII—No. 2.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 8th August, 1938, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, ten Hon'ble Ministers and 234 Members.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Chaukidari and Dafadari Establishments

35. Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the Government have decided to pay at least half of the cost of the salaries and equipment of the *dafadars* and *chaukidars* from the provincial revenues; and

(*ii*) whether the Government appointed any committee for the purpose in pursuance of the assurance given by the Government during the last budget session?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the latest date when the Government are expected to come to a final decision on the point?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) No.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*b*) If the question refers to question (*a*) (*i*), the hon'ble member is informed that the committee which has been appointed by Government will consider the problem and submit its recommendations to Government in due course.

(*c*) I am unable to say.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state while giving assurance during the last budget session what was in the contemplation of Government as regards the time to give effect to the proposal of meeting half the cost of the Chowkidari establishment from the provincial revenues?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Government never gave any assurance of the kind.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: You have said that.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: What?

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: With regard to the question whether the Government appointed any committee for the purpose in pursuance of the assurance given by the Government during the last budget session.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Assurance was given for the appointment of a committee, and that committee has been appointed.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: My question is what was in the contemplation of the Government as regards the time while giving that assurance.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not follow the hon'ble member. If he will kindly be more explicit, perhaps I may be able to answer the question properly.

Kazi EMDADUL HAQUE: When was the committee appointed and who were its personnel?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Points of information.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: On a point of information, Sir. Is it a fact that you have received a number of telegrams from all over the country with regard to the subject matter under discussion to-day? If so, will you please enlighten the House——.

Mr. SPEAKER: Whatever telegrams have been received have been placed on the Library table. It is very difficult for me to say off-hand the number. Most of them were received in the office and my standing instruction is that any matter relating to the House should be immediately placed on the Library table without any further reference to me. So, I cannot possibly say anything besides that whatever telegrams have been received have been placed on the Library table.

Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI: I rise on a point of information, Sir. You must have read this morning in almost all the daily newspapers of Calcutta that between 75 and 100 members of this House sought and were given asylum by you last night in this building. If this report is true Sir —

Mr. SPEAKER: That will do for the time being. As regards that matter I do not propose to confuse the issues by raising any question to-day. But I propose at the earliest opportunity to make a full statement on the subject if the House so desires.

NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE MINISTERS.

Order of the Motions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, the business of the day is no-confidence in the Ministers.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, before these motions are taken up, may I be permitted to make a statement which I hope will economise time and enable the House to have a full discussion on the subject-matter of these motions, and also lead to convenience in the matter of debate?

Sir, I need hardly tell the House that we are in the Cabinet on a principle of joint responsibility. Therefore if a motion is carried against any member of the Cabinet, it will be our duty to resign to enable the H. E. the Governor to form another ministry. In these circumstances, Sir, it seems to me to be the best way to raise a debate on

the ministry and if these questions are to be satisfactorily settled it will be convenient if the Chief Minister be selected as a member responsible for the Cabinet for criticism. The reasons, Sir, are briefly these. If any other member is singled out, he will not be in a position to reply to or deal with criticisms relating to other departments, and therefore the debates are found to be desultory. On the contrary, if the Chief Minister is selected for the attack, he will be able to deal with all the departments of Government, because he is responsible for each and every department of the administration. I submit, Sir, therefore, that those who have tabled the motion will please consider if they cannot have one debate on the motion that has been tabled against the Chief Minister and then have as many votings as they like.

Secondly, Sir, if they do not accept my suggestion, may I submit, Sir, that the motion may be formally moved, and then thrown open to debate and after the debate is over votes may be taken one by one on the several motions. The convenience that will accrue to this House from this procedure is so obvious that I need not dwell upon it at any length. I make this suggestion for the convenience of all sections of the House, and I hope, Sir, the Opposition will accept my suggestion.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I know what is the view on my left?

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have given the matter my most careful consideration

Mr. SPEAKER: May I ask the gentlemen who are standing in the galleries to kindly sit down, and I will request them that whatever may be the nature of the demonstration outside, there should not be anything in the nature here to show that they are taking an interest in the matter that is going inside the house.

Yes, Mr. Bose.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have given my most careful consideration, and I intimated to you last night my decision on this question as Leader of the Opposition. I think it is only right that I should state to the House what that decision is. I have already given you the assurance that the speeches on the Opposition side will not be long, and that the number of speakers will also be limited. What we propose to do this afternoon, and if the motion is carried over till to-morrow, is this: we shall move the first motion; after the motion is debated and voted upon, we shall move the second motion; after the second motion is voted and debated upon we shall move the third motion and so on until all the motions are disposed of. The hon'ble members of the Cabinet will have sufficient opportunity in the course of the debate on the first motion to state the

Government policy in answer to the charges that can be made by the Opposition. The position is further simplified by the statement made by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister that he accepts joint responsibility. Joint or separate responsibility is entirely his affair, I admit. But as he has stated to the House that he accepts joint responsibility if the first motion is moved, debated upon and voted upon, the time of the House will be spared. It is open to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister or any one of his colleagues to state the Government policy. It is for the Opposition to make their charges against that policy. The Opposition will make their charges first, and the Hon'ble the Chief Minister or any one of his colleagues will have ample opportunity in the course of the debate on the first motion to state clearly and definitely what their policy is. As I have said already, the question of joint or separate responsibility is entirely theirs. As to whether we shall move another motion after the first motion is moved, debated and voted upon, it is a mater which I shall decide after the first motion is voted upon.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is just one matter about which I would like to be clear. In view of the acceptance of joint responsibility by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, would it be convenient—I am simply making a suggestion—if all motions are moved first and then I put them to vote one after another separately?

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, as I have already explained, I regret I cannot agree to that. We have followed the rules of this Assembly. Rule 110 lays down a motion expressing want of confidence in a Minister, and as the Prime Minister has accepted joint responsibility, surely the debate on the first motion and the result thereof will enable him to decide his course of action. I submit, Sir, and I feel you will agree with me, that it is the right of the Opposition to take the motion in the order they want, and I hope neither the Hon'ble the Chief Minister nor any one of his colleagues will for a single moment interfere with that right.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may a mere member express his opinion?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, I have also had occasion to read the rules to which the honourable the Leader of the Opposition has drawn our attention. That rule, in ordinary understanding, would refer to a vote of no-confidence in an individual Minister, but when honourable members opposite have tabled ten motions against all the ten Ministers, I do feel that the Section does not apply, for the simple

reason that they have brought motions of no-confidence against the whole Cabinet, and in such circumstances it is only fair that the offer made by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister should be accepted.

Mr. SPEAKER: For the time being, I am only concerned with the interpretation of the rules. In view of the statements made by both sides, there is one difficulty with me. In view of the position of joint responsibility that the Ministers have undertaken, I think that it is only fair that I should enunciate the principle which I wish to follow in these motions.

I have every power to separate motions but I have no power to congregate motions. Therefore, if the Opposition wants that these motions should be treated separately I have no power to tell them to do otherwise unless it is by mutual agreement. That is the limitation I am suffering from that under the rules, and I have to accept the rules, and that being so, however inconvenient it may be to a section of the House, in view of the fact that ten motions have been tabled, the issue will be confined to a particular Minister and that Minister alone in each individual motion; in other words, if a particular Minister is attacked it is that Minister whose policy will have to be attacked in the debate, and I will rule out all matters which are extraneous to the Minister against whom a particular motion is moved. In view of the fact, however, that ten motions have been tabled it is only fair that I should give an opportunity in one motion to discuss the general principle of joint responsibility. That I propose to do on the first motion. In other words, so far as the first motion is concerned, it will not be against any individual Minister alone, but also on the general principle of joint responsibility, which affects the Cabinet as a whole. Then I will take the other motions separately one after another and the motions will be discussed separately.

No-confidence Motions.

Mr. DHANANJOY ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move—

> That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Hon'ble Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, Minister of Irrigation, Communications and Works.

I would at the outset like to make it clear that my motion is no reflection upon him personally and refers only to the record of his work, a very sorry record after sixteen long months of office. We all like the Hon'ble Minister for his courtesy and amiability, but unfortunately amiability is no substitute for ability, and signs of ability have been conspicuously absent in the Hon'ble Minister's work. I

am sorry to have to say it, but it is surely ironic that the estimable gentleman who holds the important portfolio of irrigation should be one who was found incapable of managing his own affairs. Disqualification for the task of looking after one's own properties.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think that has absolutely nothing to do with your motion. The question of personal management of his properties is altogether foreign to the issue.

Mr. DHANANJOY ROY: I bow down to your decision, Sir.

The Hon'ble Minister belongs to the aristocracy and has always lived in an atmosphere untouched by the realities of life in Bengal. If he has made any attempts to overcome this handicap and understood the real problems of the toiling and hungry masses, we have seen no signs of it in his work. Where is the evidence that he has really tried to understand the real needs of the province and attempted to mend them through the use of the considerable powers that have been accorded to him?

The main pre-occupation of the Indian Governments of Bengal has since the beginnings of recorded history been the problem of irrigation. But since the advent of the British, Bengal, once famous for her well-kept and well-managed waterways, has for generations been criminally neglected. Members of this House will recollect the attempts of Sir William Wilcox to draw the attention of our rulers to this most pressing of our economic problems, but nothing has been done, and nothing is being done to-day though we have in power a Ministry which styles itself as popular. I ask the Hon'ble Minister what steps has he taken for the resuscitation of the dying rivers of Bengal?

What steps, I ask the Hon'ble Minister, has he taken to plan an irrigation scheme for central and rural Bengal and save Bengal's rural life? Does he not know that Bengal is predominantly agricultural and must have more irrigation and better irrigation to meet the most crying needs of the people? We will be told that he has called a conference of experts, but if it takes sixteen months only to collect a body of experts, it will take sixteen years or more to come to any agreed plan of action and perhaps another sixty years to put them into effect. Shall we watch these cosy conferences in the luxurious precincts of Writers' Buildings while Bengal is dying every moment?

The Hon'ble Minister goes on tours, in company with his estimable colleagues and every step of their journey is paved with the money drawn from the heart-blood of Bengal's peasantry. What result is there to show for these costly peregrinations of theirs? Has anything been done beyond propaganda for maintaining themselves in the comfortable berths which they have secured? Is consolidation of their

position at Writers' Buildings more important than the amelioration of the condition of the masses? By his acts of omission and commission, does he not stand self-condemned?

May I, Sir, ask the Hon'ble Minister why the Road Development Fund has not been spent? Must the Hon'ble Minister be allowed to shirk his duty, because he has not insight into the nature of the problems which confront Bengal? Is he prepared to say that Bengal has no need of roads and other means of communication for which the Road Development Fund could be used? Why is it that he is so interested in ambitious projects of interprovincial roads and other high-sounding paper schemes when he is unable to think of any measures for the improvement of communication in rural areas? Why is he so solicitous for the interests of the steamer companies run by alien capitalists and at the same time so callously indifferent to the country-boat services which mean so much to our peasantry? Sir, the time has come when we must seriously ask if the Hon'ble Minister has done anything to justify his continuance in the office which he has so long held, and the answer is one emphatic and unequivocal "No".

The Hon'ble Minister is the ornamental figurehead of a vital department, but the department is still obviously run by the eternal bureaucrats. Perhaps as a figurehead he is an attractive one, but can we afford to spend the money we actually do for a mere figurehead? A rich zamindar, he is yet drawing a salary of Rs. 2,500 a month, while Bengal's peasants are literally starving. What has he done to justify this expenditure for sixteen long months? Head of one of the most vital and important departments of the province, he has faded away in the background till Bengal remembers of him only on official and ceremonial occasions as one of Bengal's erstwhile Sporting Eleven. By his inaptitude, and his lack of imagination, by his lack of understanding of the real problem of Bengal and his palpable lack of capacity to put into effect any scheme of national reconstruction, he stands self-condemned and must no longer encumber the public life of Bengal.

Sir, I move that this House expresses its want of confidence in the Hon'ble Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, Minister, Communications and Works.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not want any demonstration or cheers to be made to-day in this House either from the Left or from the Right. It is a very serious matter and I hope every member of this House will co-operate with me in this matter as a slight repercussion might create difficulties.

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I must thank the Opposition for doing me the honour of selecting me as the first member of the Cabinet to move a vote of no-confidence.

I do not know, Sir, if I should be justified in going into the point which you have disallowed being of a personal nature but I may say this much that I am proud for the reason which stood in the way of my managing my own affairs and for which I was not personally responsible.

Sir, I have been blamed for belonging to the aristocracy. It is a pity, public memory is too short; if that was not so, I can certainly say that by my family tradition and heritage——

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: On a point of order, Sir. You ruled out certain remarks which the mover of the motion was about to make, and, if I may say so with respect, you rightly ruled out those remarks. Is the Hon'ble Minister in order in replying to what might have been said by the mover?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, he is not right. But I think he is quite entitled to reply to the remarks made by the mover that he belongs to the aristocracy.

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I am glad that the Leader of the Opposition has interrupted me and I believe, at the right moment. I would, therefore, not develop that point any further. I would, however, leave it to others to think of the past days with their hands on their hearts.

Sir, it has been said that nothing has been done in the Irrigation Department. When I assumed charge of this Department it was merely a running show. Due to retrenchment in the past, there was no provision for tackling any new work of public benefit. Then, Sir, the first six months that we were in office, we had to work with the certified budget. From the time of our assumption of office only two working seasons have passed and I might claim that the works which have been arranged to be undertaken within this short space of time, both in smaller irrigation projects as well as bigger ones, certainly would do credit to any Ministry, and I can challenge that no province in India, handicapped as we were, has done as much as we have succeeded in doing. Sir, I had occasion to refer to those schemes in my last budget speech. Nobody realises than myself about the very serious condition of central Bengal, specially the decadent area and in order to improve the health and prosperity of the people we are taking up the Bhairab scheme which will cost Government over 2 lakhs of rupees which will irrigate and improve the drainage of a large tract of the country.

Coming to the smaller irrigation schemes, as will appear from the budget, we have taken up about four or five projects and from the lump provision of 1½ lakhs we are going to take a number of schemes. It is therefore certainly not justifiable on the part of the Opposition to

take up this attitude when they do not know the projects which we are arranging to take up in the current year. No human being in the world can take up irrigation schemes just at its sweet will and all on a sudden without the preliminaries. To take up irrigation projects, the first thing that is necessary is a survey—a contour survey as it is technically called—in order to find out the level of the land, to find out passages by which the water can be drained off—not for a temporary period but as a permanent solution. For that purpose I am glad to say that the contour survey which we have taken up for western and central Bengal is expected to be completed by the year 1940. Isn't that an achievement? When that is completed, we can take any project and proceed with the preparation of the estimates at once.

Sir, the first thing which I did, after assumption of office, was to write to all the District Boards and Collectors through the Divisional Commissioners, to prepare a list of the irrigation needs of each district arranged in order of importance according to their view. I am glad to say that as a result of that action, we have now got a list of irrigation needs of each district. Is not this an useful work of this department worthy of note? Then, again, we have appointed, or rather we have put on special duty an experienced Superintending Engineer to examine those and select schemes and then put up estimates according to the funds that we can provide. I may say at once that the provision which we have made for irrigation in the current year's budget did not satisfy me. But it is one thing to provide money and it is another thing to take up a work. There are many handicaps under which this department has been suffering, the most important of them being shortage of staff. We had one Assistant Engineer in charge of 11 districts. If any hon'ble member wanted to have any information about any irrigation scheme in Chittagong, our officer had to travel all the way from Khulna to get it. Is it not an absurd state of things to expect anything from this department as long as we are not better staffed? Instead of the two circles that we have at present we have proposed to have three or four and place them under the charge of Superintending Engineer, Executive Engineer or Assistant Engineer, according to their size. By this arrangement each officer will be in touch with the area, and may know what the people want, and have easy access to the places to examine schemes. That proposal is now before the Government and I believe that by the end of this year we hope to be able to incorporate our proposals in the next year's budget. Sir, is it possible to come and take charge of a department and to come to know of its needs all at once? Bengal is a vast province and it will take time to get oneself acquainted with the different areas with their variety of problems. When we have the new circles which will be much more manageable we can prepare schemes more easily and have greater control over the area.

Sir, the cry of "resuscitating the dead and dying rivers of Bengal", has also been raised. Sir, is sixteen months quite sufficient for the solution of a great problem like this for the whole province? Is it not one of the most complex of problems which has given the scientist a great deal of trouble and anxiety to suggest remedies? Then, again, the remedies cannot be the same for everywhere. In Bengal, with her alluvial soil, and her rivers changing their courses so often, it is a problem of problems, and I may again repeat that 16 months is certainly not enough to come to a definite solution about them. To solve this problem very many data have got to be collected, and without those data it is impossible to come to a solution. As I have said, to a department which is greatly under-staffed and has to take up the thread from one end 16 months is certainly not enough time to formulate a definite policy in this direction.

Sir, much has also been said about the accumulation of the Road Development Fund. May I remind the House what was the accumulation in this Fund when I assumed charge?—it was Rs. 42 lakhs then. Are we responsible for this accumulation, Sir, although I know that it had some good reason behind it. The previous Government had appointed a Special Officer to go round the length and breadth of the province to consult every District Magistrate and Chairmen of District Boards to formulate a comprehensive programme, so that when the work is taken up there might not be any duplication or any unnecessary expenditure incurred. That was the reason for the accumulation of Rs. 42 lakhs and what we did in the first year after six months of the certified budget was that we spent near about 15 lakhs out of the 42 and in the current year we have provided to spend 26 lakhs. Would that be criticised as a mean achievement for a department which is unused to this sort of work, for a department which had looked after buildings all along with a staff, I may say again, not sufficient for this particular kind of work? Sir, in the present year, we have been able to give publicity to the first volume of the report of the Special Officer and that report itself will show the magnitude of the work which the Special Officer took up from 1934. The road problem of Bengal has many special features which cannot be compared with the problems of other provinces of India. We have to build bridges and culverts in large number. Sir, in soling and consolidation we have got to spend more for the softness of the alluvial soil and the maintenance charge is heavy on account of the monsoon. When a culvert or a bridge has got to be constructed, we have got to take very many things into consideration, the volume or, the cusecs of water that would pass by the bridge or culvert, the openings which will have to be maintained in order that the bridge may not be washed away? Again, Sir, in certain parts of the year it is impossible to take up road work. I may state for the information of the house that similar accumulation

occurred in Bombay. But for that I would not accuse the Government because they like Bengal had not the machinery to take up this work. As I had an occasion to place before the House in my last budget speech, we have now got a Special Officer with a small staff, who has been placed in absolute charge for the road work. Then Sir, there are other difficulties, viz., the land acquisition proceedings which every member including the Opposition knows what time it takes, and that is not under the control of this Department. Then, again, there is another great difficulty from which this Department had to suffer, and that was the shortage of railway waggon specially in January last: The shortage was so much that at some places work had to be completely suspended. I may inform the House that we have to depend for stone metal almost entirely on our neighbouring provinces. Sir, after what I have stated anybody can blame us for the delay, because considering the various handicaps we have done very good progress and by the new machinery which we have set up we will be able to do much quicker progress than we have done hitherto. My honourable friend has mentioned the name of Sir William Willcox. May I tell him that the Howrah-Hooghly Fulshing Scheme originated almost from the suggestion of Sir William Willcox. Then there are other schemes—the Dwarakeswar and the More schemes which when completed will not only supply water during the rainy season but throughout the year. The Hooghly-Howrah Flushing Scheme will be completed within the year and the two other schemes will be taken up next. These schemes cannot be completed, in a day. There are various matters which have to be examined in formulating these schemes. Sir, that is in short all I can say what this department has done and I do not think human effort can achieve more within this short period.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We have not heard whether he is opposing or supporting the motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can make your own inferences.

The question before the House that this Assembly expresses its want of confidence in the Hon'ble Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, the Minister for Communications and Works, was then put and a Division called, when the Leader of the Opposition intervened.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, I think I heard you to say that during the first motion you would allow a general discussion. When you got up to read the motion I thought your intention was that this motion was being put to the House for general discussion. But when I saw that the motion was being put to the House by you for voting, I was much surprised.

Mr. SPEAKER: As a matter of fact, Mr. Bose, I waited for some time after the Hon'ble Minister finished his speech for any members to rise. But I think you will agree with me that I cannot invite members to take part in a general discussion. Therefore I was putting the motion to the voting of the House. As I have already done so, there can be no further discussion on this motion, but it is open to the House to have a general discussion on the second or any other motion.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: In fact, Mr. Speaker, the Chief Whip of my Party was going to place before you the names of members who would take part in the general discussion.

Mr. SPEAKER: As I have already said, Mr. Bose, that may be done on any of the subsequent motions.

In connection with the voting on this motion, I do not want any gentlemen to leave their seats for the purpose of canvassing. Whatever canvassing is necessary has been done already, and I would only request them to go straight to the lobby from their places.

(Then the Division Bell began ringing.)

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I want to mention one other point——

Mr. SPEAKER: Let the Division Bell be over.

(After the division bell has rung.)

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I want to draw the attention of the Speaker to one fact, namely, one Mr. Abdul Hakim who has always been in the Opposition was brought in and then there was a pull by some of the members on one side and the other. Then a sergeant intervened and brought him on to the opposite side and he has been kept on there. I can understand, Sir, the whip of the party to which the member belongs trying to interfere with him, and I can also understand other members trying to speak to him, but if a sergeant interferes and helps to bring a member to the other lobby when a no-confidence motion is being discussed, that is highly objectionable. I want your ruling, Sir, whether a member who has consistently sided with the Opposition for the last 16 months when his whip was trying to bring him on to the right lobby, whether the sergeant can do that.

Secondly, there is another member who intimated to the office that he has joined the Independent Party. That member was also dragged away to the other side. On these matters I want to know——

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: The whole of last night you tried this game. Don't try to do it now.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: The Hon'ble the Chief Minister might have been awake looking what game was played or was not. I am not interested in that. I want your ruling, Sir, whether a sergeant on duty in this House is within his rights to help a member on to the wrong side of the House. That is what I want to know.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. So far as this matter is concerned, my attention has been drawn to certain incidents outside this Chamber, and I have told Mr. Gupta that I will personally hold an enquiry into the matter. Till that enquiry is held it is not possible for me to give an opinion one way or the other about the conduct of any person in this House. So far as the voting is concerned I declare it is open to any member whether he sits on my right or on my left to go to any lobby he chooses. It would be perfectly open to him and I will rigidly see that there is absolutely no persuasion of any kind, and the members must go from their seats straight to the lobby and I hope ladies and gentlemen will kindly remember this to-day that they are to leave their seats and go straight to the lobby.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: May I draw your attention, Sir, that you have ruled that no member should leave his seat. But when the division bell was just ringing Mr. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury has shifted from his seat?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I have taken notice of it.

The question before the House is the motion of Mr. Dhananjoy Roy to express want of confidence in the Hon'ble Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, the Minister for Communications and Works.

(The motion was then put to the House and to a division.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I announce the result of the division, I would appeal to the members of this House that they will kindly co-operate with me in seeing that there is neither any demonstration nor any shout from any side.

The House divided: Ayes, 111; Noes, 130.

AYES

Abdul Matloob, Khan Bahadur Syed.
Abdul Nafiz, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Nazeem, Mr.
Abdul Majid, Maulvi.
Abdul Majid, Mr. Syed.
Abdul Waheed, Maulvi.
Abe Hossain Sarkar, Maulvi.
Abul Fazl, Mr. Md.
Acharyya Choudhury, Maharaja Sashi Kanta, of Muktagacha, Mymensingh.
Aftab Ali, Mr.
Ahmed Ali Mridha, Maulvi.

Ahmed Khag, Mr. Syed.
Azimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Azhar Ali, Maulvi.
Banerji, Mr. P.
Banerjee, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerji, Mr. Satya Priya.
Banerjee, Mr. Sibnath.
Banerjee, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Banerjee, Mr. Manoranjan.
Barma, Babu Premhari.
Barma, Mr. Pasupati.
Barman, Babu Shyama Prosad.
Barman, Babu Upendra Nath.
Basu, Mr. Santosh Kumar.
Bhowmik, Dr. Gobinda Chandra.
Biswas, Babu Lakshmi Narayan.
Biswas, Mr. Manik Lal.
Biswas, Mr. Surendra Nath.
Bose, Mr. Sarat Chandra.
Chakrabarty, Babu Nagendra Narayan.
Chakrabarty, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Chattopadhyay, Mr. Ranipada.
Chaudhuri, Rai Narendra Nath.
Das, Babu Mahim Chandra.
Das, Babu Radhanath.
Das, Mr. Menomohan.
Das Gupta, Babu Khagendra Nath.
Das Gupta, Dr. J. M.
Das Gupta, Mr. Narendra Nath.
Datta, Mr. Dhirendra Nath.
Deloi, Mr. Hirendra.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutta Gupta, Miss Mira.
Dutta Mazumdar, Mr. Niharendu.
Emdadul Haque, Kazi.
Fazlur Rahman (Muktear), Mr.
Ghose, Mr. Atul Krishna.
Giasuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Gomes, Mr. S. A.
Goswami, Mr. Tulsi Chandra.
Griffiths, Mr. C.
Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. J. N.
Gurung, Mr. Damber Singh.
Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Alhaj
Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Mr. Syed.
Jalaluddin Hashemy, Mr. Syed.
Jalan, Mr. I. D.
Jonab Ali Majumdar, Maulvi.
Khaitan, Mr. Debi Prosad.
Khan, Mr. Debendra Lal.
Kumar, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Kundu, Mr. Nishitha Nath.
Maghuddin Ahmed, Dr.
Maiti, Mr. Bikunja Behari.
Maitra, Mr. Surendra Mohan.
Maji, Mr. Adwaita Kumar.
Majumdar, Mrs. Hemaprabha.
Mazumdar, Mr. Birendra Nath.
Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Amrita Lal.
Mandal, Mr. Banku Behari.
Mandal, Mr. Bogendra Nath.
Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prasad.
Maniruzzaman Islamabadi, Maulana
Maqbul Hossain, Mr.
Mookerjee, Mr. Syamaprasad.
Mukerji, Mr. Dhirendra Narayan.
Mukherjee, Mr. B.
Mukherji, Dr. H. C.
Mukherji, Dr. Sitaraj Chandra.
Mullick, Srijut Ashutosh.
Nasker, Mr. Hem Chandra.
Nausher Ali, Mr. Syed.
Pain, Mr. Barada Prosanna.
Pramanik, Mr. Tarinicharan.
Ramizuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Roy, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjay.
Roy, Mr. Kamalkrishna.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Roy, Mr. Kishori Pati.
Roy, Mr. Manmatha Nath.
Roy, Kumar Shib Shekharesvar.
Sanaullah, Al-Haj Maulana Dr.
Sanyal, Dr. Nalinaksha.
Sanyal, Mr. Sasanka Sekhar.
Sen, Babu Nagendra Nath.
Sen, Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra.
Shahedali, Mr.
Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. M.
Singha, Babu Kshetra Nath.
Sinha, Srijut Manindra Bhusan.
Sur, Mr. Narendra Kumar.
Tagiruddin Khan, Maulvi.
Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan.
Wahiur Rahman, Maulvi.
Yousuf Mirza.
Yusuf Ali Choudhury, Mr.
Zaman, Mr. A. M. A.

NOES

Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
Abdul Bari, Maulvi.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Md.
Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, Maulvi Md.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
Abdul Hamid Khan, Maulvi.
Abdul Jabbar, Maulvi.
Abdul Jabbar Paiwan, Mr. Md.
Abdul Kader, Mr.
Abdul Karim, Mr.
Abdul Latif Biswas, Maulvi.
Abdul Wahab Khan, Mr.
Abdulla-Al Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. F.
Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Mr.
Abdur Razzaq Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rashed, Maulvi Md.
Abdur Sattar, Khan Sahib Maulvi S.
Abdur Rauf, Mr. Shah.
Abdur Razzak, Maulvi.
Abdus Shahed, Maulvi Md.
Abidar Reza Chowdhury, Khan Sahib
Abul Hashim, Maulvi.
Abul Hossain Ahmed, Mr.
Abul Quasem, Maulvi.
Afjal Hossain Joardar, Maulvi.

Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri, Khan Bahadur Maulana.
Ahmed Hossain, Mr.
Alauddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Ali Ashraf, Maulvi.
Amin Ali Mia, Maulvi Md.
Armstrong, Mr. W. L.
Ashrafali, Mr. M.
Asiuddin Hossain Khan, Maulvi.
Banerjea, Mr. H. C.
Barni Ali, Mr. Md.
Bell-Hart, Miss P. S.
Brother, Mr. F. C.
Blomfield, Mr. L. M.
Campbell, Sir George.
Chippendale, Mr. J. W.
Crossfield, Mr. L. M.
Das, Mr. Anukul Chandra.
Das, Mr. Kiriti Bhusan.
Dass, Babu Debendra Nath.
Edbar, Mr. Upendranath.
Farhad Raja Chowdhury, Mr. K.
Farhat Bano Khanam, Begum.
Fazlul Huq, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K.
Fazlul Quadir, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Fazlur Rahman, Mr.
Ferguson, Mr. R. H.
Golam Sarwar Hosaini, Mr. Shah Syed.
Habibullah, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur K., of Dacca.
Hafizuddin Chowdhury, Maulvi.
Hamiduddin Ahmed, Khan Sahib.
Hamilton, Mr. K. A.
Hasan-uzzaman, Maulvi Md.
Hashem Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Hashima Murshed, Mrs., M. B. E.
Hatemally Jamadar, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Hawkings, Mr. R. J.
Hirtzel, Mr. H. A. F.
Hyman, Mr. F. T.
Idris Ahmed Mia, Maulvi.
Ispahani, Mr. M. A. H.
Jainuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Jainuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Kabiruddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Kennedy, Mr. I. G.
McGregor, Mr. G. G.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Maulvi.
Mafizuddin Chowdhury, Maulvi.
Maguire, Mr. L. T.
Mahtab, Maharajkumar Uday Chand.
Mahtabuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Mandal, Mr. Birat Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Jagat Chandra.
Maniruddin Ahmed, Maulvi.
Masud Ali Khan Panni, Maulvi.
Miller, Mr. C.
Mohammed Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Mohsin Ali, Mr. Md.
Morgan, Mr. G., C.I.E.
Moslem Ali Mollah, Maulvi.
Mozammel Huq, Maulvi Md.
Muhammad Afzal Khan Sahib Maulvi Syed.
Muhammad Ishaque, Maulvi.
Muhammad Israil, Maulvi.
Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed.
Muhammad Sulaiman, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Mullick, the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary.
Mullick, Mr. Palin Behari.
Musharruf Hossain, the Hon'ble Nawab, Khan Bahadur.
Mustagawai Haque, Mr. Syed.
Mustafa Ali Dewan, Maulvi.
Nandy, the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra, of Cossimbazar.
Nasarullah, Nawabzada K.
Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir, K.C.I.E.
Noorudin, Mr. K.
Norton, Mr. H. R.
Patton, Mr. W. C.
Pari, Sir Hari Sankar.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. M.
Raikut, the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Rajibuddin Tarafdar, Maulvi.
Ray Choudhury, Mr. Birendra Kishore.
Razaur Rahman Khan, Mr.
Roy, the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Kshirod Chandra.
Roy, Babu Patiram.
Sadaruddin Ahmed, Mr.
Safiruddin Ahmed, Haji.
Salim, Mr. S. A.
Sarkar, Babu Madhusudan.
Sarkar, the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan.
Sassoon, Mr. R. M.
Serajul Islam, Mr.
Shahabuddin, Mr. Khwaja, C.B.E.
Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.
Shamsul Huda, Maulana.
Sirdar, Babu Lilta Manda.
Steven, Mr. J. W. R.
Suhrawardy, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S.
Tofel Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi Haji.
Walker, Mr. J. R.
Walker, Mr. W. A. M.
Whitehead, Mr. R. B.
Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.
Zahur Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi.

The Ayes being 111 and the Noes being 130, the motion is lost.

Mr. AFTAB ALI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly expresses its want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister for Commerce, Labour, Public Health and Local Self-Government.

Sir, I regret that I should have been called upon to come forward with a motion of this kind and press for its acceptance by this House

against one whose appointment as Minister in the [illegible]et of Bengal, I not only approved of but over which I rejoiced as I thought that the assumption of the Labour portfolio by one who had been for a time connected with the Labour movement would work for the improvement of the miserable conditions of labour in Bengal. But alas, soon we were disillusioned and found that he was talking and behaving in the worst vein of an unsympathetic employer. And I claim, Sir, that nobody regretted and regrets this change more than I, for all these months. Sir, I have in vain tried to persuade him to change his attitude and policy.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Aftab Ali, the best way in which you can make your speech audible is that you just forget that you are speaking before a loud-speaker, and then I think it will be all right.

Mr. AFTAB ALI: Thank you, Sir. The House will remember that I have protested on many an occasion against the suicidal and anti-labour policy enunciated and ruthlessly pursued by the Hon'ble Minister and the House knows how I was and have been subjected to insults and repression as a result of these protests to the policy of the all powerful Mr. Suhrawardy. I am fully aware perhaps worse measures are still awaiting me and yet I can assure the House that I have not taken up this stand for my personal grievances. Neither do I stand to-day in the name of my constituency alone but I do stand here in the name of the entire labour movement of this province. There is not a single genuine labour union in this province to-day which has not publicly denounced the policy and asked for the removal of the Hon'ble the Minister for Commerce and Labour. It is only 16 months and odd days he has been in office and in such a short period he has created in Bengal labour a volume of unrest and discontent which has hitherto been unknown. He came into office while Bengal was witnessing one of its biggest industrial conflicts in its biggest industry and had the opportunity of winning over labour by following a sympathetic and humane policy, but it must be said he signally failed. His conduct from the very outset alienated the leaders of the strike. The past record of the Hon'ble Minister was bad enough and workers in the labour movement could not forget the questionable part, the Hon'ble Minister had played in almost all the industrial conflicts of Bengal before he became Minister. They could not forget the attempts made in disrupting the great B. N. Railway strike of 1927 in which over 20,000 hands were involved. They could not forget his subversive activities regarding the E. I. Railway workers' strike at Lilloah. They could not forget how he wanted to thwart the legitimate demands of the Indian Seamen in 1930 when a wage movement was afoot, by starting rival organisations and forcing a division among

the Seamen. They could not forget the incidents leading to the collapse of the great Dockers' strike of 1934 and the part that the Hon'ble Minister played in it.

Sir, if the strike leaders looked upon the Hon'ble Minister with suspicion and misgivings in the face of these past activities of his, were they not justified? Could they, Sir, unreservedly throw into the hands of the Hon'ble Minister the fate and the entire future of over 200,000 human beings? The Hon'ble Minister not only failed to win over the confidence and the goodwill of the strike leaders but started vilifying them through his agents. He caused tons of provoking and insulting handbills, leaflets and placards to be distributed amongst the workers on strike. I will just show you a few of these samples of such vilifications and misrepresentations (placards shown)——

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I have not quite followed the mover. He has stated about the distribution of certain leaflets: did he distribute them himself?

Mr. AFTAB ALI: No, the Hon'ble Minister distributed them through his agents.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Oh!

Mr. AFTAB ALI: And worse than this by means of section 144 he made the holding of any meeting of workers in the Jute Mill area impossible and he prohibited the entry of labour leaders in those areas to give the workers advice and even members of this House were prevented from going to their own constituencies and by these methods and police oppression tried to suppress the strike. He allowed the peaceful workers on strike to be indiscriminately fired upon and as a result of which two Muhammadan boys of tender ages, named Shamser Ali and Kalu Sekh, were seriously injured among others. One member of this very House also got his head broken by the police. These activities on the part of the Hon'ble Minister had only one aim. He wanted to disrupt the unity of the movement and divide the workers into rival camps. His activities only provoked them more and cemented their unity. At last the Chief Minister had to intervene and give assurances to the workers and their leaders on behalf of the Ministry. These assurances were published under the authority of the Chief Minister and were duly endorsed by the Hon'ble Minister for Labour. The strike was called off, but, Sir, this House will be surprised to know that when the time for implementing these assurances came, the Hon'ble Minister refused to honour a single one of them. Instead, he managed to cook up new unions through his agents in almost every mill to defeat the assurances he had so solemnly given and at the same time escape the consequent reaction on the

part of the workers. This is not all. Each Trade Union which did not fall in line with him and whose leaders dared to criticise the anti-labour policy and activities of the Hon'ble Minister found itself immediately attacked by rival unions patronised by the Hon'ble Minister and in certain cases one was not considered enough for his purposes. I may cite the case of the Indian Seamen's Union. Early in May, 1937, I considered it my duty to write and point out the mistake and folly of the policy that was being pursued by the Hon'ble Minister and in a few days his reply came in the shape of three rival unions set against the Indian Seamen's Union of which I am the President. Now, Sir, what is the purpose of such action? The Hon'ble Minister's idea of relationship between a Trade Union and the Minister for Labour seems to be that which exists between a master and a slave and he can think of no other position. Refusal to fall in line with him calls from him repression and repression of the worst kind. Repression, particularly police repression, is not a new thing so far as the organised labour of this province is concerned and we have had many occasions to protest against such police repression carried under the past Governments. Now, Sir, the present Hon'ble Minister has gone one step further for the previous Government at least spared our women workers from orders to vacate their homesteads within 24 hours under the provision of the famous Public Security Act. As to the fate of the officers and organisers of the different Trade Unions, I submit, Sir, it can be better imagined than described. Section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code and section 144 of the Indian Penal Code were indiscriminately resorted to, against the officers and workers of all the important Trade Unions in Bengal. As far as we are concerned we hold the Labour Minister primarily responsible for these repressive measures. The indiscriminate use of the police machinery has been the most important part of his policy in suppressing the Trade Union movement of this province. Recognised and well-known labour workers like Mr. Deben Sen, Mr. Sisir Ray, Madar Khan, Abdul Kadir and many others stand to-day victimised in pursuance of the said policy of the Labour Minister. We have also experienced a new method of repression which has been deliberately devised to coerce the labour leaders out of the movement. Hooligans and intermediary exploiters of labour such as Sirdars, Serangs, Dalals, etc., have been set up to start "Unions" in the name of the workers which I have already referred to, the main business of these people being to issue slanderous leaflets to insult and abuse the accredited leaders of labour and to organise and manipulate the institution of false cases against them so that the real and active unions might be broken and their unhampered exploitation started again. And this is exactly what has happened in the case of the Seamen. I think it is no revelation to the hon'ble members that before my union reached its present position, the seamen of this Port were paying at least a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs in bribes per year. Through the activities of my

union it was almost stopped and but for the opposition offered by the Hon'ble Minister and his Agents, it could have been completely wiped out by now. But, alas, that was not to be. The Hon'ble Labour Minister who claims himself to be the sole custodian of Islam extended his long arms against the union and its workers, 99 per cent. of whom are his own co-religionists. Through his instrumentality and guidance, bogus unions have been started. Every measure is being adopted to weaken the Indian Seamen's Union. Proceedings under section 107 have been started against as many as 42 officers of the union. Dalals and Sesangs have been directly encouraged to extort the seamen again. Exploitation in all shapes is re-appearing in full swing. Thousands of families in the Noakhali, Tippera, Dacca, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Chittagong, Mymensingh, Murshidabad and 24-Parganas, which supply the main quota of seamen in Calcutta were hoping for prosperity and better days. But the Muslim members of these districts could do well to remind their wretched families that they are hoping against hope, so long as Mr. Suhrawardy is in power.

On behalf of the workers and the oppressed humanity of Bengal, I therefore, charge Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, the Labour Minister, with deliberately enhancing the woes of the Mozdoors of Bengal. He has wantonly violated the peace and harmony that existed between Labour and Capital in Bengal. For his suicidal and shilly-shallying policy, the employer and the employee are being driven further apart instead of being united and reaching an honourable understanding and solution among themselves.

As an example, I can here refer to the long pending dispute which is going on for a pretty length of time between the employers and the employees in the Electricity Supply trade. I maintain but for the opposition and dilatory tactics of the Hon'ble Minister this dispute would have been mutually settled long before.

I charge him with defiling the holy doctrines of Islam by introducing the bogey of communalism in the labour world of Bengal. He was responsible for injecting communal virus in the Trade Union movement of the country.

I charge him with wantonly violating the terms of the assurances that were agreed to and upon which the jute strike was called off. I charge him with failing in his duty in not rendering proper advice to the Government for implementing the terms of these assurances.

I charge him with firing upon jute workers on strike and also for not enquiring how those two Moslem boys of 16 and 10 years only were fired upon and injured in the said connection.

I charge him with trampling under foot the rights and liberties of labour in Bengal.

I charge him with recklessly following a subversive labour policy for thwarting and checking the growth and development of the Trade Union movement in Bengal.

I charge him with deliberate neglect of duty in not initiating any healthy and helpful legislation for improving the economic condition of the thousands of hungry labouring population of Bengal.

I charge him with raising the false cry of communism only to mislead and misinform the Government and the employers and to create an eternal barrier between Labour and Capital.

I charge him with misusing and squandering the Labour Welfare Fund at his disposal in maintaining and patronising his own agents whose main occupation is to disrupt and weaken the organised Labour of Bengal by starting fake rival unions.

I charge him with failing to solve the ever-growing problem of unemployment amongst Labour.

The Hon'ble Minister admitted on the floor of this House the victimization of poor Dockers by the Stevedores and assured us of its early termination. I charge him with breaking his own promise. I further charge him with helping these Hindu Stevedores in oppressing the Muslim Dock Workers and thus giving an excellent proof of his much vaunted Islamic brotherhood.

I charge him with carrying a malicious, false and vile propaganda against me for not supporting the present party in power.

In conclusion, I wish to put in a word to my friends the employer members of this House. We as well as they are striving for years for establishing industrial peace in the country and I trust my hon'ble friends will not forget the fact that the Labour Minister does not represent either Labour or Capital He has not, nor can he possibly have any genuine sympathy and feeling for either party. He is here to augment his own selfish ends. To retain him in power would mean the acceptance of a policy in which reconciliation of Labour and Capital shall become impossible, and continued industrial unrest in the country would prevail.

Sir, the Minister in charge of Commerce and Labour has thus failed and miserably failed to discharge the high responsibilities that were reposed with him. He has shown a total bankruptcy of policy and statesmanship. He has betrayed the secred trust that was bestowed upon him.

With these words, Sir, I commend this motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am aware of the grave responsibility that rests on the Opposition this afternoon in moving the motions of no-confidence against the Ministers. It is known to all that members on this side and members of the Cabinet have in the past not been soft critics of each other. But in those criticisms our entire objective was directed towards effecting a change in the policy. Sir, we have endeavoured to condemn severely, often harshly, measures and policies that we not only disapproved of, but thought were ruinous for Labour in particular and for the people of Bengal in general. But the purpose of the motion of this afternoon is of a different kind. It is meant not to effect a change in policy but a change in the personnel of that body which is carrying on the Government of Bengal to-day. In this particular case, Sir, in rising to support the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Aftab Ali, I am deeply conscious of the fact that the particular portfolio that is concerned in this motion is the portfolio of Labour. Recently the Hon'ble Minister has assumed charge of another portfolio, but we are primarily concerned with the portfolio of Labour. I dare say every member honestly and inwardly is aware and will agree with me that the portfolio of Labour connotes responsibility of the highest kind. The Hon'ble Minister who holds the portfolio of Labour has not only to exercise the powers of Government but is also the repository of the trust imposed upon him for the welfare of labour. In Bengal it is well-known that labour needs welfare and needs to be looked after. We know, Sir, that in Bengal the labouring population numbering lakhs and lakhs in and around Calcutta alone has been created as a result of the process of rack-renting and usury that has lasted and that has continued during the last two centuries. There is the whole story of human distress behind the growth of industrial population in the province of Bengal. Homes have been broken up; poor cultivators have been thrown out of land, not only in Bengal but throughout the whole of India. They had to come over in search of food and sustenance to industrial centres and congregate there; in their trek across the country; the great jute centres gradually brought them clustering on the banks of the river Hooghly. That is how the labouring population in India presents the whole human picture and the human background of the labour problem. And you will find labourers from all the provinces congregated here. In the jute industry alone we have three lakhs of labourers, and that is the principal industry in Bengal, particularly because the jute crop is the vital and principal money crop, on which the welfare of the whole province rests, on which not only the wages of the workers, not only the income of the middle classes who have been faced with utter ruination but also the whole prosperity of Bengal and of India depends. But after all what does the prosperity of Bengal and of India mean if it is not the prosperity of the lakhs of those miserable workers who, from all parts of India in utter destitution and ruination, have been driven from their homes and congregated

round here. I think even the honourable members who represent not so much these human constituencies but their own financial and pecuniary interests will agree with me that although the interest of their industries is their chief concern, for making profits, for maintaining the rates of profit and increasing those rates by increasing their investment of capital in the province, none the less, they cannot be blind to the fact that, after all, behind the interests of profit, behind the interest of their industry remain the interests of the workers which must be made the foundation of their wealth. If they are loth to look after the interests of labour, however much they may cry in the wilderness throughout the whole of India, they are going headlong towards their own ruin. Industrial war is not a matter of sport, and I can assure you that no amount of agitators, no amount of revolutionaries, can bring about industrial strikes if there is no misery, starvation and helplessness. It is these which make the existing conditions of labour unbearable. With these words, Sir, I would call the attention of the honourable members of this House who represent the centres of industries—and if I may say so, they are building up money bags which they are out to do but at the same time they must realise that those on whose backs the burden of these money bags is built up, those from whose toil these money bags are extracted, are starving—I would call the attention of those honourable members and representatives of these interests not to be totally blind to the present condition of their workers. It is from that point of view that I wish to contend here, and it is for this House to give its verdict on the statement which has been already made by my friend Mr. Aftab Ali that the industrialists in this province, by continuing to give support to the present policy of the Labour Minister, are preparing the ground for industrial war. It is known that industrial peace in no country has been built up except on the basis of strong, well-developed, free and independent labour unions, and industrialists seeking to have friendly relations with those unions. What has been, Sir, the policy of the industrialists in Bengal? They have been largely and mostly apathetic towards the development of industrial unions. I must admit that there have been honourable exceptions. It must be realised that labour unions and labour organisations and the new methods of labour struggle have come to stay, and it is no good turning your head backward and crying in the wilderness. They have come to stay and they will stay and develop. It is for you to choose whether you try to come and check the growth of industrial unions or whether you wish to be helpful and extend the hand of co-operation to the workers' organisations and unions which they can legitimately demand. That is where the policy of the Labour Minister should be their chief concern. I have met several industrialists including the honourable members representing the European industries who have expressed to me their willingness to make friendship with industrial unions having no unreasonable and hostile attitude. But they have unfortunately

failed to carry the industrialists as a whole with them. A retrograde orientation in regard to labour unions has been directly encouraged by the policy that the Hon'ble the Labour Minister has propounded and is carrying on.

Sixteen months have passed since the present Cabinet came into office. Knowing the past record, knowing the declared policy of the Hon'ble Labour Minister of the present day, it is strange how the Cabinet could come to select a person of that record for the extremely responsible post of Labour Minister. The policy in making the selection should have been, Sir, of selecting one who at least had not a record of past hostility towards the labour movement, had not a record of stifling the strike activity, had not a record of past wreckless-ness against the welfare of labour organizations, if at least they were not able to find one representing the general labour constituency to hold the portfolio of Labour. If the Hon'ble Minister was really eager to give a proof of his genuine desire for the welfare of labour and represent the interests of labour, he might have very well contested a seat in a labour constituency, and that would have helped to establish his claim to represent the labour welfare organization. But we find on the floor of this House and outside that the deliberate policy of the Hon'ble Labour Minister has been a policy of provocation against labour leaders. I assert here on the floor of this House that there shall be not industrial peace, and no labour department can work smoothly and peacefully by systematically adopting the policy of flouting representatives of labourers You may brand them as revolu-tionaries, you may brand them as communists, you may brand them as agitators, but, Sir, I submit to you and through you to the members of this House that you leave for us no other alternative but the one of revolution. We want a change of situation, because any change is better than the situation of the present day. The industrialists have done very little for the labourers; and they have been encouraged in this policy by the Hon'ble Labour Minister

I may not rouse the anger of the Hon'ble Members of the Cabinet by stating here a recent incident, a recent illustration of what happened at Cawnpore during the Cawnpore mills strike where 45,000 workers were engaged in a life and death struggle for 50 days at the end of which an industrial settlement was brought into being. There was a Labour Minister and a Labour Commissioner and the whole cabinet was altogether different from what we witness in Bengal. There, Sir, it was made, from the very start, perfectly clear to the mill owners that the Government would be prepared to arbitrate between the mill-owners and the workers for an honourable settlement. Government were prepared to set up a machinery to secure lasting peace for the province in the real interest of industry, and Sir, as a result the industrialists there were not encouraged to adopt an unreasonable attitude, at least the die-hard section of the industrialists who heedless of the welfare

of the people, who out of greed for money, who heedless of the human considerations would be simply prepared to adopt any policy in order to flout labour, were kept in check. The labourers and their organizations were helped to a great extent by the policy that the U. P. Government had adopted. On the contrary, Sir, in Bengal what do we see? Only a few days after the Labour Minister came into office he opined that it was yet too early for us to judge him as regards the record of his work. He had not been given an opportunity. But, Sir, when on behalf of the labourers a proposal was made to him that the way to industrial peace in Bengal would be for the Hon'ble Labour Minister to get the industrialists and the representatives of labour to sit round a table, to have an exchange of views and to explore the avenues for industrial peace, and when some labour members showed their willingness to do this, the Hon'ble Minister for Labour was not only unsympathetic to this, but he was unable to bring pressure on the industrialists to meet the labour leaders or the labour representatives or the workers' deputation. What was the result, Sir? In the course of the jute-workers' general strike we found that negotiations came to a standstill. We found in the course of the strike the Labour Minister himself went about the labour constituency out of which labour representatives were excluded by promulgation of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the direct effect of the Labour Minister's activities was that the already widespread strike grew more widespread. That shows, Sir, how, right at the start the policy of the Labour Minister manifested itself. In place of negotiations what took place has been mentioned by my hon'ble friend Mr. Aftab Ali. Posters were hung up on the walls of the factories and all over the labour constituency in order to incite workers against their leaders. But, Sir, such incitement failed. On the contrary such libellous and slanderous and ridiculous leaflets, pamphlets, and posters were brought out without taking proper declaration from the Court. Therefore, Sir, I submit that the Cabinet and particularly the Labour Minister directly encouraged a policy of illegal pamphleteering in labour constituencies with a view to break down the labour strikes. But what was the result? The strikers, on the contrary, were infuriated and took this exhibition of posters as a provocation. The posters had to be withdrawn from the walls of the mill areas by the police in order to maintain peace. That is, Sir, one instance of how the Labour Minister failed to bring about an end of the strike. Then came another method. And here my hon'ble friend Mr. Aftab Ali has mentioned how in Howrah area boys of tender age, one Kalu Shaik and one Shamser Ali of 15 years and 10 years of age were shot. They faced the bullets; one was struck on the chest and the other on the fore part of the thigh. An old man of 70 in Jagatdal area received a bullet and was in hospital for a long time. There was not the slightest enquiry, Sir. And Sir, the Labour Minister, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and the Cabinet realised that bullets did not succeed in breaking down the strike.

Then, Sir, these hon'ble gentlemen came down from their cool retreat on the hills. At the instance of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister fresh negotiations started. We thought, Sir, an olive branch was held forward, we thought, Sir, that the policy of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister on behalf of and with the concurrence of the Labour Minister was adumberating a new era, a new policy in the industrial life of Bengal, we thought, Sir, it was going to be an era of industrial peace and good will—

(Here the member reached his time limit.)

May I have some time more, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: As there are many more members to speak on this motion, I am afraid I cannot give you any more time.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: I had no idea of the time you would allow me. Otherwise, I would have contracted the speech accordingly. May I finish my sentence, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, that you can do.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: And, Sir, in the end the strike that could not be broken by bullets was brought to an end by ourselves at the request of the Chief Minister with the concurrence of his labour colleague, and our experience since gave us an inkling of what the Government's labour policy really was; all their pledges have been broken. I appeal to the House and to the hon'ble members that the only way for a new era of industrial peace is to remove the Hon'ble Labour Minister, and if they take the responsibility for maintaining the Labour Minister in office, they cannot escape the responsibility of rushing headlong towards industrial war.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, my esteemed colleagues who have preceded me on this motion have addressed you and the House in regard to the special portfolio assigned to the Hon'ble Minister for Commerce and Labour. I desire in this connection to make a few observations on the general policy of the present Cabinet. When the first motion of no-confidence was placed before the House the Hon'ble the Chief Minister expressed a desire that the motion might be made the occasion for a discussion of the general policy of the Cabinet. But unfortunately that desire did not materialise, and I take this opportunity of saying a few words with regard to the general policy which has inspired the present Cabinet.

Now, Sir, in considering the general question of policy, the first thing that strikes us is the utter failure of our Ministers to implement the large number of promises they have from time to time made on the

floor of this House in order to keep themselves in position and power. Representing as I do a metropolitan constituency, I have listened while sitting in this House from day to day complaints which have come in shoals from members representing different rural constituencies. We have heard complaints times without number whenever an opportunity has afforded itself about the utter failure, the utter inefficiency, and the utter incapacity which has overtaken this Cabinet to bring any good or to confer any benefit upon the countryside of Bengal. That is just the position with which we are faced to-day. When this Constitution was ushered in a year and a half ago, a large majority of the members of this House gave all their support and the strength of their number to the present Cabinet in the expectation that the Cabinet would rise equal to the occasion and would initiate measures and policies which will bring some relief to the down-trodden millions of Bengal. Time after time during budget discussions as well as by means of resolutions and questions, myriads of complaints have been voiced by the members of this House with regard to the conditions prevailing in the rural areas, and the Ministers have also time after time pacified members of this House with the promise that everything will be all right if they are only given some time and opportunity. I submit, Sir, the members of this House have been overindulgent to the present Cabinet. They have stood by them in their never ending game of asking for more and more time and of shelving matters till the ever-receding "next session". Unfortunately, Sir, that game of theirs which has been described in many quarters as a game of bluff and bluster has not stood them in good stead with the result that there have been landslides in their ranks on an enormous scale. The Opposition benches, which presented an empty and deserted appearance when this Assembly began its session in April, 1937, are now full of life humming with vitality.

I ask the Hon'ble Ministers to pause and ponder over the fate that is bound to overtake the Cabinet, if not to-day, then to-morrow or the day after. I will ask the Cabinet to consider whether this game can be continued with profit and success for any length of time. I would ask them to consider whether depending on the votes of the European members, who were our rulers and are actually ruling over us even to-day, they can successfully carry on the administration of the province, and can go on holding out promises to the country. I will ask my European friends to consider whether they would perpetually take upon themselves the onus of deciding for all time the policy and personnel of the Government that is to rule over the destinies of this province. Will they take upon themselves—these thirty members of this Legislature representing a few thousands of men resident in this province—the task of determining what policies and measures are to be initiated by the Government of this province, and who should be the persons to initiate and put them into execution.

That is the situation, Sir, with which we are faced to-day. And the reason is not far to seek. The Cabinet consists of a conglomeration of interests, of members some of whom represent groups of barely five or six members of this House. They have been installed in their position of power and influence from which they can control the destinies of this province. But they are cut away from the main currents of life in this province. They cannot feel the pulse of the nation. They have not the power, the insight and the capacity to feel the heart throbs of the people. That has been manifested time and again on the floor of this House. And those who by casting their votes in favour of the Government have even now helped to maintain the present Cabinet in power have taken up that position in doubt and despondency, making no secret of their conviction that this Government does not enjoy the confidence of the representatives of the people of this province. Their votes, though depleted and ever-dwindling in number, have to-day gone to the Cabinet, because they are still seeking to maintain the present Government in the expectation that something good might yet turn up or for other reasons which we do not know. But at the same time, it cannot be gain-said for one single moment that the hearts of their followers are not with the Government. And the reason, as I have said already, is not far to seek. This Government cannot initiate policies and measures which can bring any relief to the people of this province. They have chosen to depend for their precarious existence upon large scale distribution of patronage, upon jobbery and favouritism, and in some cases, I am sorry to say, upon nepotism of the worst character.

Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI: What about the Calcutta Corporation?

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: I knew, Sir, that that frivolous cry would rise from that corner of the House. I knew that and I can meet it if I have the time, but I am not going to take any notice of the cry which has been exposed thoroughly. If the Calcutta Corporation is negligent in the discharge of its duties, if the Corporation is guilty of nepotism, is that the reason why the present Government should take recourse to methods and tactics to which they and some members of the Coalition Party have stooped for keeping themselves in position and power? (Cries of "Question" "Question" from the Coalition benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think it is fair to interrupt the hon'ble member in this way, and I hope that he will be allowed to proceed with the speech without any further interruption.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, I am thankful to you for this timely intervention. What I do say is this: that nepotism and favouritism are the mainstays of the present Government. A Public

Service Commission has been set up under the new Constitution. When questions are asked as to how far the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have been honoured in making appointments, we are told that figures are being collected and that the Public Service Commission does not come in when temporary appointments have been made in very large numbers. Excuse after excuse has been trotted out on the floor of this House in order to hoodwink the members of the Legislature and the country at large and to justify the nepotism and favouritism which have been the mainstays of the present Government. And I am surprised to find that my European friends who swear in the name of honest democratic Government, are so staunch and unbending in their support of the present Government. They have not hesitated to render their willing allegiance to a Government which stands condemned and convicted of nepotism and favouritism in various branches of the administration. I do not know, Sir, how far and how long will the present Government try to maintain its position by securing the votes of members whose interest is not so much to see whether justice is being done as between the different Indian communities in this country as to secure and safeguard their own power and their own position in industry, trade and commerce. Sir, I expected that those who profess to teach us lessons about an honest, responsible and democratic form of government would hold the scales even as between conflicting claims of the Indian sections of this House, instead of casting their lot and throwing in the weight of their influence to keep the present Government in power. They have made good the depletions in the ranks of the Coalition Party whose members have lost faith in the present Government, because their fidelity to their constituents is something larger and higher than their allegiance to a make-shift coalition and to a Cabinet of Ministers who have scattered innumerable promises on the floor of this House, but have lamentably failed to implement any of them.

Mr Speaker, Sir, looking at the achievements or lack of achievements of the different departments, I am sorry that the time at my disposal will not permit me to go into details; but at the same time, I may be allowed to make a brief reference. Starting with the Finance Department, I find that the great achievement of this department has been to perpetuate the taxes which the old bureaucratic Government admittedly declared to be of a temporary nature. They have, in spite of the comfortable position in which they have been placed by the Nimeyer Settlement, thought it fit and necessary to continue these temporary taxes and to deface our Statute Book permanently by depriving the poorest residents of this city and province of their ordinary amenities of life by imposing and continuing these temporary taxes—that is—one of the achievements of our Finance Department.

Coming to the Education Department—the great achievement of my friend the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has been to go about the

country preaching the necessity of imposing an education cess so that free primary education can be introduced in this province. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister knows better than any one else how difficult, how impossible it is, for the ordinary cultivator to bear the burden of this education cess. I know that zemindars have been assessed for this tax, but at the same time in the ultimate analysis the cultivators cannot escape the burden. Then, Sir, his other great achievement is the initiation of measures for the establishment of a Purdah College in Calcutta, —a Purdah College for the city-born and city-bred girls of Calcutta! Does that satisfy the educational needs in the slightest possible degree so far as Bengal is concerned, even from the point of view of girls' education? I leave it to the members of this House to judge.

Coming now to the achievement of the Home Department of which the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin is the chief, I must frankly say that I have great regard for him. I have regard for the Chief Minister for his antecedents and past achievements. I have regard for Sir Nazimuddin because he is a man of few words; he can weigh his words and keeps a silent head on his shoulders. But at the same time when I look at the achievements of his department, I am constrained to say that there has hardly been any change in the policy, programme and principle which actuated the old bureaucratic Government. Repressive legislation and measures are still in force, and prosecutions for sedition are initiated on evidence of a very questionable nature——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Basu, your time is up, so you just finish your sentence.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: All right, Sir. Unfortunately, as I have said, it is impossible for me to go into details so far as the consideration of the activities of different departments is concerned. But I do say and say with the utmost confidence that the trend of opinion in this House is proof positive that the present Government have been weighed in the balance even by their erstwhile supporters and have been found miserably wanting.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I adjourn the House for prayer, I might just announce that the tickets which have been issued to members for their guests will hold good for to-morrow also; but if any of the members does not want any of his guests to attend to-morrow, he would kindly surrender the ticket at the ticket-office outside, so that the same number of tickets might be issued to the same member for to-morrow.

At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.

(After adjournment.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I find that Miss Mira Dutta Gupta is very ill. She may wait in the Ladies' Waiting Room and I shall see that her vote is recorded in the room itself.

Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN:

আজ মাননীয় শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলবার আগে Mr. Speaker এর কাছে আমি জানতে চাই কতটা সময় আমি বোলতে পারবো?

Mr. SPEAKER: You will have 10 minutes but you may have 15 minutes and I hope that you will be able to finish within 10 minutes

Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN:

মাননীয় শ্রমিক মন্ত্রীর সম্বন্ধে আর সব কথা বলার পূর্বে আমি এই কথাটা আপনাদের জানিয়ে দিতে চাই যে ১৯৩৬ সনে যখন তিনি মন্ত্রী ছিলেন না, ছিলেন হাই কোর্টের একজন ব্যারিষ্টার সেই সময়কার একটা ঘটনার কথা আপনাদের কাছে আমি বলবো। হুগলি জেলার রিসড়া নূতন চটকলে একটা strike হয়। সে strike হবার কারণ ছিলো মিলের মজুরদের পায়খানা বন্ধ কোরে দেওয়া এবং তাদের নামাজের যে জায়গাটা ছিলো সে সম্বন্ধেও বলা হয়েছিলো সেখানে আর নামাজ পড়তে দেওয়া হবে না, কারণ চটকলে যারা কাজ কোরবে তাদের নামাজ পড়বার সময় দেওয়া হবে না। সেই জন্য তারা strike করে। আমি তখন কলকাতায় ছিলাম না, বাইরে ছিলাম। খবর পেয়ে সেখানে যাবার পরে মিলের authority দের বললাম, "তোমরা এর প্রতিকার কর নৈলে শ্রমিকেরা কাজে যাবে না"। তার দুই তিন দিন পরে আমার উপর ১৪৪ ধারা জারি করা হয়, এবং সেখানকার workerরা বর্তমানের এই শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী সাহেবকে নিয়ে যায়; কারণ তিনি খবর পাঠান "আমি তোমাদের সমস্ত মিটমাট কোরে দেবো"। তিনি সেখানে গিয়ে workers দের বলেন, "তোমরা কাজে ফিরে যাও, তোমাদের কোন তকলিফ থাকবে না, তোমাদের সমস্ত demand আমি পূরণ কোরে দেবো"। তার দুই তিন দিন পর হাইকোর্টের দক্ষিণ বারান্দায়, এই শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী সাহেবের সঙ্গে আমার আলাপ হয়, এবং যে আলাপ হয়েছিলো যতদিন আমি বেঁচে থাকবো সে আমার মনে থাকবে। সে সময় লতাফত হোসেন, এম. এল. সি সাহেবও সেখানে ছিলেন। সাহেব আমাকে বলেন worker দের নামাজ পড়া, টাট্টি, পায়খানা এসব কি? বাড়ী এসেই তো টাট্টি ফিরতে পারে, নামাজ পোড়তে পারে, এরজন্য আবার কল বন্ধ করা কেন? তখন আমি বললাম, মজুরেরাও মানুষ, তাদেরও নামাজ পড়ার ও পায়খানা ফিরবার দরকার আছে। তারপরে worker রা কাজে ফিরে গিয়ে যখন দেখলো যে তাদের দাবি পূরণ করা হয় নাই, তখন তারা সারওয়ার্দি সাহেবের কাছে এসেছিল এবং বোলেছিল—আপনি মিথ্যা বোলে আমাদের কাজে নিলেন কেন? আজকে যা কিছু বোলবো তার প্রত্যেকটী বিষয়ে evidence দিতে আমি প্রস্তুত আছি। তারপরে চক্ ষ্টাইক্ সম্বন্ধে তিনি কি কোরেছিলেন, তিনি চক্ ওয়ার্কারদের দাবি মিটিয়ে দেবার ভরসা দিয়ে যে সমস্ত সর্দারেরা ঘুস পেয়ে কুড়ি লক্ষ টাকা উপার্জন করে, তাদের দলে ভিড়ে হাজার হাজার worker দের বেকার কোরেছিলেন এবং তাঁর অধিকাংশই মুসলমান। পূর্ব Jute-Mill strike এর সময় তিনি কি কোরেছেন? পূর্ব Jute-Mill strike এর সময় তাঁর বাড়ীতে এবং মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রীর বাড়ীতে আমরা বার বার meet করি। তাঁরা বোলেছিলেন "আমাদের উপর ছেড়ে যাও, আমরা workers দের সম্বন্ধে যা শুনলাম সে সম্বন্ধে tolerance একটা বোর্ড স্থাপন কোরে, দূর কোরে দেবো।" বোর্ড স্থাপন করা ও দূরের কথা তার পরে দিন

পর National Jute Worker's Union নাম দিয়ে সর্দারদের দ্বারা একটা Union গঠন কোরে, সেই Union এর দ্বারা শ্রমিকদের উপর অত্যাচার করাচ্ছেন। সেই অত্যাচারের নমুনা আপনাদের কাছে দিচ্ছি। গত ১৯০৭ সনের জুন, জুলাই মাসে যখন ধ্যাঙ্গাস্ ষ্ট্রাইক কোরেছিল সেই সময় তিনির প্রতিনিধি মইনুদ্দিন এবং সাফাতুল্যা, নুরমহম্মদকে সঙ্গে নিয়া ঐ যে বড় বড় গুদাম বলে থাকে, সেখানে Mill owner দের কাছে থেকে contract নেয় যে আমরা তিন দিনের মধ্যে পুরাতন লোকের বদলে নূতন লোক দিয়া Mill চালাবো। এবং মাননীয় শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী মহাশয় মোটারে চোড়ে সেখানে যেয়ে নাকি contract দেওয়ান। তিন দিন পর্য্যন্ত তারা সেখানে লোড়ে যখন দেখলো যে আর চালাতে পারবে না তখন তারা সেখান থেকে চোলে এসেছিল, তার পর প্রায় ১৯৪ জন লোককে পাবলিক সিকুরিটি এ্যাক্টএ time দিয়ে কয়েক মিনিটের মধ্যে সেখান থেকে তাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়। একটি লোকের ভাই মারা যায় তাকে পর্য্যন্ত মাটি দিবার সময় দেওয়া হয় নাই। আর একটি মেয়ে লোক তার ছোট ছোট দুই ছেলেকে পর্য্যন্ত ফেলে আসতে বাধ্য হয়। তার মধ্যে বুড়ো বুড়ো মুসলমান মেয়ে রয়েছে যারা আর কোন কাজ কোরতে পারবে না। তারা এখনো জীবিত রয়েছে। আমাকে এক ঘণ্টা time দিলে মোটর করে তাদের এনে দেখাতে পারি। তাদের force কোরে তাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়। যখন কলকাতা থেকে চাল ডাল প্রভৃতি তাদের জন্য আমরা পাঠিয়েছিলাম পুলিশ সেগুলি ধুলোয় ছড়িয়ে ফেলে দিয়েছিল। তারপর regular মারধোর, গুণ্ডামি সেখানে হয়েছে। তার পরে প্রায় ১,৪০০শ লোক বেকার হয়েছে তার মধ্যে বেশীর ভাগই মুসলমান worker, আমাদের সেই গরীব শ্রমিকদের উপর যে সময় Public Security Act চালানো হয়, সে সময় এক একটা সর্দার যারা ৩।৪ লক্ষ টাকার মালিক, ঘুষ খেয়ে যারা এত পয়সা কোরেছে, সেই সকল সর্দারদের বাড়ী নিজে এসে আমাদের শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী সাহেব পোলাও কোর্ম্মা খাইয়েছেন। আমাকে সাফাতুল্যা টেলিফোন করে একটা কিছু মিটমাট করার জন্য worker দের ডাকান হয়েছে—এই কথা বোলে। আমি সেই টেলিফোন পেয়ে ওঁর বাড়ী যাই। সেখানে গিয়ে শুনলাম যে উনি মাজিমুদ্দিন সাহেবের বাড়ী আছেন। উনি যখন ফিরলেন তখন আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করলাম কেন আমাকে ডেকেছেন? উনি বল্লেন "আমি তো জানি না," আমি বল্লাম তাহলে কি সর্দারদের পোলাও কোর্ম্মা খেয়ে আমাদের যে মাথা ভাঙবেন সেইটে দেখবার জন্য আমাকে এখানে আসার খবর দেওয়া হয়েছিলো? আমি যদি এখান থেকে সোজা বাড়ী চোলে যেতাম তাহলে লোককে বোলতেন "ভামান এসে পায়ের তলায় হাত দিয়েছে"। এখান থেকে সেই সব লোকদের কাছে যদি M. L. A. দের নিয়ে যাওয়া যায় তাহলে তারা দেখতে পাবেন শতকরা ৯০ কেন ৯৯ জন workers এই Minister কে চায় না, কারণ তিনি তাদের সর্ব্বনাশ কোরেছেন। এছাড়া যখনই আমরা আন্দোলন করেছি তখনই হুগলি, হাওড়া ও কলকাতার শ্রমিক মহলে ১৪৪ ধারা জারি করা হয়েছে, ১০৭ ধারা দেওয়া হয়েছে। এই সব অত্যাচার করা সত্ত্বেও হয় তো প্রসেসনের জোর বা অন্যান্য রকমের মটর, টাকা ও অন্য কিছু কোরে Ministry ভাঙবে না। কিন্তু আমি শ্রমিকদের তরফ থেকে শুনিয়ে যাই, আমাদের ছুরিটা ধারালো ছিলো না কিন্তু ভোতা ছুরি আমরা এমনভাবে ধোষবো যে বর্ত্তমান শ্রমিক ও কৃষক শত্রু মন্ত্রিদলের ফোঁটা ফোঁটা করে রক্ত পড়বে এবং এই মজার চোটে আমাদের ছুরি যখন ধারাল হয়ে উঠবে তখন এই মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর গভর্ণমেণ্টকে শেষ কোরে সত্যিকারের হিন্দু-মুসলমানের, সত্যিকারের শ্রমিক-কৃষকের গভর্ণমেণ্ট স্থাপিত হবে। যাক, আমি আর একটা কথা বলবো কাল যখন মারামারি হয়েছে, লাল মিঞা সাহেবের বাড়ীতে, তখন মাননীয় ফজলুল হক সাহেব বোলেছিলেন "কোন গোলমাল কোরবোও না এবং কোরতে দিবও না"। আমরা বোলেছিলেম "সোমবারে বা রবিবারে আমরা কোন প্রসেসন বাহির কোরবো না," তার মানে এ নয় যে আমাদের সে ক্ষমতা নাই। ওঁরা কোরবেন টাকার জোরে অথবা ধর্ম্মের জোরে, আর আমরা কোরবো রুটির জন্য সত্যিকারের একতার জোরে। প্রমাণ চান দিতে প্রস্তুত আছি। যত লোক মন্ত্রিমহাশয়েরা জমা করিয়াছেন তার চারগুণ লোক এই কলিকাতার মন্ত্রিদের বিরুদ্ধে যদি না হয়, তাহলে আমি resign দিয়ে চোলে যাবো। এই যে লোক জমা হয়েছে তার ৫০ পারসেণ্টের বেশী মিল বন্ধ কোরে মিথ্যা ধোকা দিয়ে আনা হয়েছে।

হাওড়ার কতকগুলি মিল বন্ধ কোরে দিয়ে এই সব লোকদের বোকা দিয়ে প্রলোভন দেখায়ে আনা হয়েছে, সত্যি কথা জানলে কেউ আসত না। (A Voice: আপনার ক্ষমতা অনেক বেশী জানি।) আমার ক্ষমতা নয়, worker দের ক্ষমতা।' এই প্রলোভন দেখিয়ে বড় জানাতে চান যে Ministry দের উপর লোকের faith আছে তাহাতেও ভয় উপায় নাই এবং লোকের ভয় বা অন্য কোন রকমের ভয় দেখিয়ে বেশী দিন আর চালাবার উপায় নাই। আমাদের আন্দোলন শ্রমিকদের আন্দোলন। যদি ক্ষমতা থাকে আমাদের আন্দোলনকে বন্ধ করার আমি challenge কোরছি। পারলে, সে ক্ষমতা শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দেখাতে পারেন। ১৬ মাসের মধ্যে ১৪৪ ধারা মজুরদের উপর জারি করা ছাড়া তাদের জন্য কি ভালো কাজটা কোরেছেন? কোনো জায়গায় কোন রকমে তাদের সাহায্য কোরেছেন? কোন জায়গায় তাদের দুঃখের সময় কি গভর্ণমেণ্ট কোন দরদ দেখিয়েছেন? দোকানের খালি লোকের উপর অত্যাচার করবার জন্য কিছু কিছু নমুনা। গত শনিবার শাকাতুলা হুগলী বেয়ে যে জায়গায় তারা আমাদের meetig কোরতে দেয় না সেখানে ইসলামের ভয় কোরে ৫০।৬০ জন লোক জমা কোরে বোলছে যে যদি আমাদের Ministry থাকে তাহলে দেখুন কে আছান কি কোরে টিকে থাকতে পারে''। সেখানে পুলিশ ছিলো, কিন্তু তাদের report তো এখানে আসে না। সেখানে শ্রমিকেরা অবশ্যই বলেছে যে আমরা বাবুদের মতন সত্যিকারের যে জিনিষ যা আমরা মনে প্রাণে বিশ্বাস করি তার জন্য শেষ পর্য্যন্ত লোড়বো, এজন্য জীবন, ধন, প্রাণ, সর্ব্বস্ব দিতে প্রস্তুত রয়েছি। টাকা অবশ্য বড় জিনিষ; টাকা ছাড়া আরো কিছু আছে। সত্যিকারের জিনিষটা কি সেইটা দেখা দরকার। খালি টাকার লোভ দেখালেই চোলবে না। মোটর গাড়ি চড়িয়ে গেলেই চোলবে না। সত্যিকারের জিনিষটা ভাবুন। কোন একটা labour quarter এ যেয়ে দেখুন সেখানে কি হচ্ছে। সর্দ্দারদের দ্বারা কতকগুলি union করিয়ে শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী সাহেব তাদের সর্ব্বনাশের জন্য উঠে পড়ে লেগেছেন। সেগুলি দেখলে আপনারা এই প্রস্তাবে সমর্থন দেবেন। যদি না দেন এই মজুর আর কৃষকেরা আপনাদের কাছে কৈফিয়ৎ চাইবে- -সে দিনের আর বেশী দেরি নাই।

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, explanations are always tedious and doubly tedious when they are made after the event. But perhaps the House will bear with me if I make a short explanation of the attitude of my party, particularly when my good friend Mr. Basu has, if I am not misinterpreting him, tried to put us into a water-tight compartment—into which I may say we decline to enter.

I should like to explain to this House that whatever view the Congress Party may have about our particular interests, we claim we have not only a great stake but considerable interest in and sympathy with this province. And for that reason I venture to say that it is rather a misconception about duty to suggest that we should stand aside when there appears to be something very near a balance of power, in this case very near an unbalancing of power, in connection with who shall be the Government of this province. We definitely feel that having taken on the job in this Province and in this House that we have taken, we shall be shirking our duty if we do not take a full part in the debates and in the voting. We may be mainly a trading and professional community, but I venture to say that in all we have discussed on the floor of this House we have taken a resonable and unbiassed view, whatever the matter might have been that was before the House. We have no more than any other party

in this House any special association with Government and are only here to see that there is good Government in this province. Our interest like that all citizens lies here.

If that is admitted, we have now to consider our position at, what I may call, this critical juncture. Here we have a Coalition Ministry that has been 17 months in office, consisting at the moment of 5 Moslems and 5 Hindus. And I venture to say that to the best of its ability it is trying to carry on the Government of this province. It is a matter of great regret to us (I may have a wrong impression and I do not want to attribute motives) that we have felt that communal interests have at times been brought in when this should not have happened. Another matter which we criticise is the method of at times rushing business in this House without giving the members due time to consider their position. There is still another matter I would particularly refer to (here again the unfortunate communal question comes in) and that is the matter of the Public Service Commission. I do not think that Government's reception of their recommendations has always been satisfactory. Again, in the matter of departmental administration I feel that there is great room for improvement. I would however, make one excuse for the Ministry, and that is they may in some ways have been unduly harassed, not so much by the Opposition as by their own followers.

Now, on the other side of the picture I feel and my party feels that they have no quarrel with the administration of finance. The Government have also, we think, dealt well with the matter of law and order. It is however a matter of great regret that they did not take steps, as I feel they could have taken, to prevent such demonstrations as have unfortunately happened this afternoon. I admire the restraint of the Congress in not arranging counter-demonstrations which might have led to a serious situation in this city and in this House. With that lapse in virtue, however, I do feel that the Government have made their best endeavours to maintain law and order.

Then on matters of development and reconstruction, they have made strenuous endeavours to get along with the work. These are early days of the ministry. They have come to office, many of them, entirely inexperienced in dealing with the Government of a huge province, and they have two difficulties. One, the actual work which is rather strange for them, and secondly, what I referred to before, the insubordination of their own followers and the unfortunate defections from which they have suffered.

There are both sides of the picture, and about one there is a certain amount of gloom. However as regards the bright side although there have been deficiencies, I claim that there is undoubtedly great ground for encouragement.

I have already referred to the Ministry's difficulties and I would say a word or two more about them. It may be due to a lack of discipline in the party, or is it—I do not wish to impute motives, Sir, but we must see clearly where we stand and in whom we may place confidence—is it that some members of this assembly have not yet learnt to subordinate their personal ambitions and personal feelings and to work entirely for the good of the province?

Many members who had originally supported the Government have crossed the floor and joined the Opposition. Every man is entitled to change his views, and before doing so he no doubt examines the whole matter from the point of view of public interest. In the Parliament of the United Kingdom when a member crosses the floor of the House he sometimes feels he should resign and seek re-election. It is not incumbent on him but it is perhaps a matter of conscience. If we have a change of ministry it will be difficult for us to trust those people who are too ready to trim their sails according to the prevailing wind.

Then, Sir, we have to consider the Congress Party, and it will be a matter of the deepest regret, it will be a matter of grave misfortune, if this great Hindu Party does not sooner or later, and I would say preferably sooner, take a share in the Government of this province; rather than do no more—and in saying no more I am not derogating from their actions in any way—but do no more than provide a very valuable Opposition and criticism of the doings of the Government in power. They should, as I say, be sharing in the Government of this province.

It may be that when the New Constitution came in on the 1st of April last year, it was not possible for them to take office in coalition with the predominatingly Muslim Ministry, who did not in all matters see eye to eye with what the Congress think best for the good of this country. That brings us, Sir, to this vexed and difficult question of Congress control from the Centre. We see examples of that in the contemporary history of other provinces, and there is also danger to Bengal if the views of prominent Congressmen in this Province may be overruled from many hundreds of miles away by people who possibly know very little of actual conditions in Bengal. Then might I add one point with particular reference to our party, and that is the possible divergence of opinion between ourselves and the Congress. They say—I am perhaps putting it crudely, and my friends will correct me if I am wrong—they say "put us in power, and you will see that your rights are protected. We want our political freedom and if we get in this country we shall have no further quarrel with you." But, Sir, what they are doing, and what they are saying, does not lead us to have confidence in them. They appear to link us with the British Government, but in this they are under some confusion. We are not

the British Government. We have had in the past our own difficulties with the Government, in matters of trade and commerce. What Congress have been fighting to get from the British Government is concessions. They may not like that word, thinking of "rights," but I use it merely to describe what has undoubtedly been conceded to them. As I say, from the Government Congress have been striving for concessions; surely with us their object should be to inspire trust.

Now, Sir, to sum up briefly, I claim that we have more than a right, we have a duty, to participate entirely in the proceedings of this Assembly. We take the view that the Government have achieved a considerable measure of success in spite of difficulties and some deficiencies. Then there is this uncertainty of what might happen if a Congress Government came into power in Bengal. We think also that it is not desirable to have a change of Government so soon after the reformed constitution has been working in the province. Then we remember that during these past seventeen months it has been our policy to support the Government so long as they are working on what we consider constitutional lines. We have told them so, and we have never concealed it. Now when a particular time of trial comes I think it would be entirely inconsistent if we turned and voted against this Government.

I have tried in moderate language to point to some of their failings here, and I will say that it is with no particular feeling of triumph and no feeling of elation that we have decided to support them on these no-confidence motions to-day. We realise their difficulties as well as their deficiencies. We feel we must be consistent. We have no cause to desert them at this time, and therefore, Sir, my party has decided to oppose these motions of no-confidence.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is difficult to take part in this debate with suppressed or repressed feelings. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Express them.) But before I express them I should like to make just one comment on the words that have fallen from the lips of the Hon'ble the Leader of the European Group. He has placed his point of view before the House, but I should like to add just one remark, which is that the Coalition Government is a minority Government. There lies the difficulty of the situation, particularly when there is an Opposition which has never hesitated to attack it, principle or no principle.

The Opposition, Sir, from the very first day has taken upon itself the duty of calling it communal and attacking it on that ground. I am proud of being called communal in this matter and I am not

ashamed of it. They have taken up this position because the worm which they wanted to crush under their feet has turned under this Act of 1935. They could not bear that the Mussalmans should make their influence felt even in this province of Bengal where they command a majority. No subterfuge, no artifice, no form of intrigue was too mean or too low for them to carry on their propaganda against what is known as the Coalition. Sir, it has all come to a climax now, and I declare that the position occupied by those who call themselves the leaders of nationalism in this country is what we, in Urdu, call بی جمالو (Bi Jamalo). There is a proverb in Urdu

بھس میں چنگاری دے بی جمالو الگ کھڑی

[after putting a spark in combustible matter Bi Jamalo (the old lady) stands aside and watches the fun]. Asking my Muslim friends, who have left us, to attack the Government and asking the scheduled caste members to attack the scheduled caste Ministers, and themselves looking at these marionettes, is the lowest depth of degradation. Sir, it does not end there. I go further. I know I am making a statement which will be considered as perhaps not very proper. Here I possess money which has passed from a member of the Opposition to two members on this side of the House. The amount is Rs. 3,400 half-notes were passed, and I show them here. Along with this in the handwriting of one of the stars of the Opposition there is a statement that "if you sign this paper you will get the other halves plus Rs. 1,000 more in full notes. (Cries of "shame" "shame" from Coalition benches.) Those who stoop to such dirty business cannot be called worthy of representing the people of Bengal. I am prepared, Sir, to give you the names of those members. They stand up to-day and talk of nationalism as if we, on this side, were bereft of all national feeling. We too entertain national feelings just as any other Indians, but we play the game better.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA-MAZUMDAR: Sir, we have been entertained by a wonderful stunt. May we be enlightened further about the particulars?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It is a downright lie.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I strongly deplore the conduct of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri and Mr. Muhammad Afzal [illegible]

Speaker is on his legs it is only reasonable and fair that honourable members should not be excited, and I am all the more sorry that Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, whom I know to be one of the most sober tempered members in this Assembly acting in this fashion. I can quite understand his feelings and I have full sympathy with him, and I was just going to make a statement. What I was going to say is that it is a very serious allegation which has been made by Mr. Siddiqi on the floor of this House; but this debate is not the occasion on which it can be discussed. I would ask Mr. Siddiqi to place all the materials before me to-morrow. I have taken note of it, and as the custodian of the honour and dignity of this House, I propose to take such further action as may be necessary with a view to find out whether the allegations are true or not.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, as Mr. Siddiqi has made an allegation, may I humbly entreat him to state before the House whether his charges are against any member of the Congress Assembly party? If he is making an allegation against a member of the Congress Assembly party, I owe it to the House and to you, Sir, to expel that member from this Assembly if the allegation is proved to be true.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not intend to allow any further discussion, but I would ask Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi to place all the materials before me to-morrow.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: In the meantime the lie will hold good.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: All that I want to say, Sir, is that I do not demand of Mr. Siddiqi to mention the names, but I do demand of him the information whether he is making any accusation against a member of the Congress Assembly party.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think he has made any allegation against any member of the Congress Assembly party. In the Opposition there are several groups. I am not going to entertain any discussion at this stage on the details, but in view of the fact that allegations have been made and contradicted, I propose to take up this matter to-morrow. I know that this is an allegation which has been denied and that this is not a matter which can be substantiated on the floor of the House, but I would ask Mr. Siddiqi to place the materials before me to-morrow, and I may place the matter before the Committee of Privileges, if necessary.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Sir, it has been found that a member of that party has got Rs. 1,000 and some European member of this Assembly has seen it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I will not allow this debate to be degenerated into a discussion as to whether the money has gone out from one party to another. It is not desirable that matters like this should be brought in details before the House: they should be brought before the Privileges Committee. So, I will not allow any further discussion, but it is open to the Leaders of the different Opposition Groups to repudiate the charge.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, may I appeal to you and may I appeal to my honourable friend Mr. Curtis Millar to state whether or not it is a fact that he saw a big note in the hands of a member of the Coalition Group?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not want Mr. Curtis Millar to make a statement now, but I shall give him a suitable opportunity to make his statement.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, when you permitted Mr. Siddiqi to make a very serious charge against a person who is supposed to be sitting on the Opposition benches and when up till now he has not had the courage to make any charge against any member of the Congress Assembly party, is it not fair, is it not just that other members on this side of the House and in front of me should be given an opportunity to state to the House as to what they saw this afternoon?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am quite prepared to allow when a member of the Opposition seeks to make an equal charge against another member but not in details and without mentioning name, but I cannot allow cross-discussion at this stage.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, in view of the fact that the remark made by my honourable friend Mr. Siddiqi is against a member

of the Opposition, may I know from him whether he refers to any member of the Krishak Proja Party? (Laughter from Coalition benches.)

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I hope the time so far wasted will not be deducted from the time of my speech. Sir, my courage has been questioned by the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition——

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope, Mr. Siddiqi will not refer to the matter any more.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: May I inform the Leader of the Congress Party here that he will not find me cowardly, he will not find me running away, he will not find me doing underhand and dirty tricks. He will always find me standing face to face in this House. Sir, I place myself in your hands and submit that I can substantiate every word that I have said. (Cries of "withdraw, withdraw" from the Opposition Groups.) It shall not be withdrawn.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: On a point of order, Sir. You have already permitted at least two minutes to my honourable friend, Mr. Siddiqi, to repeat that charge. He got the opportunity of saying whether the charge was made against any member of the Congress Assembly Party, but he has evaded that question. May I request you to call upon him to reply to my question?

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, I place myself entirely in your hands and I am prepared to give you the name, address, the amount of money paid and every other detail. But I question the right of the Leader of the Congress Group, who has disturbed the whole programme of to-day's debate, to represent every member on the side opposite. I call upon the honourable member from Faridpur and the honourable member from Jessore to stand up and declare before this House whether they acknowledge the Honourable the Leader of the Congress Group as their chief and master here. They do not possess any conscience—— (Cries of "withdraw, withdraw" from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Siddiqi, I would ask you to withdraw that expression.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I will withdraw every word which is hurting my honourable friends opposite.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Is that the way of withdrawing an expression?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Siddiqi, I have asked you to withdraw the expression and you should do so.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: All right, Sir. I withdraw the expression "they do not posses any conscience".

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA-MAZUMDAR: Sir, at the outset of the debate, you appealed to the members of this House to be strictly relevant and to keep up the dignity of the House in every way. Now, I appeal to you Sir, to see that unfounded charges and unsubstantiated allegations are not offered to any member of this House. If you want the debate of this House to be conducted in a manner dignified and soberly, I appeal to you, in view of the serious reflections cast upon the various groups of the Opposition, to ask Mr. Siddiqi either to substantiate the charges here and now or withdraw every word of what he said against the Opposition. Honour and dignity demands that.

Mr. SPEAKER: What I propose to do is to ask Mr. Siddiqi to place all the materials before me to-morrow morning and this part of the debate will continue to-morrow. For the time being, I would ask you, Mr. Siddiqi, to continue the other part of the speech. If I am satisfied after examination, I will bring the matter to the notice of the House to-morrow.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: On a point of order, Sir. I think, I heard you asking the honourable Mr. Siddiqi to withdraw his allegations against the Opposition Groups. I am only asking you if he has done so. Between the times I got up to speak, he has spoken at least four times, but he has evaded answering the question I put to him.

through you as to whether he has made any allegation against the Congress Assembly Party—— (Vehement cries of "withdraw, withdraw" from the Opposition Groups.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I will not allow that point to be discussed at this stage. I have already given assurance that I will make enquiry into the matter——(Cries of "withdraw, withdraw" from the Opposition Groups and counter remarks from the Coalition Group and great uproar prevailed in the House.) I must adjourn the House now.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned till 4-45 p.m., on Tuesday, the 9th August, 1938, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 9th August, 1938, at 5 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, ten Hon'ble Ministers and 234 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Free Primary Education in Faridpur.

*57. **Mr. MD. ABUL FAZL:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(i) in which of the districts of Bengal free primary education has been started; and

(ii) when is it likely that free primary schools will be started in the district of Faridpur?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq). (i) and (ii) Following on collection of Education Cess the introduction of free primary education has been made possible in Mymensingh district. Schools of an improved type have been opened throughout the greater part of that district and the whole district will shortly be provided with such schools. A like result was aimed at in the districts of Dacca, Noakhali, Tipperah, Nadia, Murshidabad, Pabna, Bogra, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Chittagong and Faridpur, from January 1939. The recent decision to suspend the collection of cess for some time in the six latter districts owing to economic distress has made it again uncertain when it will be possible to open free primary schools, of an improved type, in these districts. Unless and until District School Boards are possessed of adequate funds no real improvement of primary education is possible.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have at all taken into consideration, since they assumed office, the question whether it was possible to explore any avenues of income so as to introduce free primary education without the necessity of imposing an education cess?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid that question does not arise.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I am, however, prepared to answer this question.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: May I point out that the last sentence in the answer, namely, "unless and until District School Boards are possessed of adequate funds no real improvement of primary education is possible" that is a general statement and I think, Sir, my supplementary question does arise.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: The answer is in the affirmative. Not only have I been trying to explore all possible avenues of having primary education without the imposition of any cess, but I have also consulted the Chief Ministers and Ministers of other provinces, if they have been able satisfactorily to solve this problem. I may tell the House that the Chief Ministers of Bombay, Orissa, the United Provinces, and Bihar have practically admitted that up to now they have not been able to arrive at any solution. I am still trying to find out some means. I propose to approach the Government of India for funds from the Central Government. If I succeed, the imposition of a cess will be rendered unnecessary.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister please state whether Government have received representations from several quarters in Nadia and Murshidabad districts also for suspending the collection of the cess there for the time being in view of the prevailing economic distress?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: The answer is in the affirmative.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister please state what action Government propose to take or have taken so far on these representations?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: We are in consultation with the Collectors of these districts and a final decision will be arrived at very shortly.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister kindly state whether he has received a similar application from the district of Faridpur?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I have already suspended the imposition of the cess in Faridpur.

Babu NAGENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to state what is the position of Khulna with reference to free primary education?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SURENDRA MOHAN MAITRA: Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to state the position of Tippera with reference to free primary education?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question, too, does not arise.

Central Primary Education Committee

*58. **Mr. SHAH ABDUR RAUF:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state whether the Central Primary Education Committee, as contemplated in section 3 of the Bengal Primary Education Act, has been constituted?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, who are its members?

(*c*) If no committee has yet been formed when is such a Committee likely to be constituted?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) When District School Boards are constituted in all, or nearly all the districts of Bengal.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কি দয়া করে জানাবেন সমস্ত District এ School Boards constituted হবার সম্ভাবনা আছে কি না?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: সেটা বলা অসম্ভব, ভবিষ্যৎ বলা যায় না।

Educational institutions in Chittagong Division.

*59. **Mr. MAQBUL HOSAIN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing separately from the years 1928 to 1938 for the Chittagong Division—

(i) the total number of—

(1) high English schools,

(2) middle English schools,

(3) reformed scheme high madrassahs, and

(4) reformed scheme junior madrassahs;

(ii) the number of them receiving Government recurring grant-in-aid separately;

(iii) the total number of boys and girls of each community;

(iv) the number of Muslims and non-Muslims employed as teachers;

(v) the total number of—

(1) District Inspectors,

(2) Subdivisional Inspectors, and

(3) Sub-Inspectors; and

(vi) number of Muslims among them?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the amount of grant-in-aid allotted to each division this year for each kind of institutions separately?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: The collection of the information will involve the expenditure of time and labour which is not commensurate with the advantage likely to accrue from the information.

Grant-in-aid to junior madrassahs in Rajshahi.

*60. **Maulvi MANIRUDDIN AKHAND:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(a) the number of junior madrassahs existing at present in the district of Rajshahi;

(b) the number of them that get Government grant-in-aid; and

(c) the amount of grant-in-aid each of them gets?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) 15 (as it stood on 31st December, 1937).

(*b*) 6.

(*c*) The amounts of grant are as below:—

	Rs.
(1) Matikata Junior Madrassah	50
(2) Rajshahi Girls' Junior Madrassah	175
(3) Chak Nasirpur Junior Madrassah	30
(4) Madhnagar Junior Madrassah	20
(5) Neamatpur Junior Madrassah	30
(6) Nanur Junior Madrassah	20

Appointment of additional Ministers, Government Whips and Parliamentary Secretaries.

*61. **Al-Haj Maulana Dr. SANAULLAH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Chief Minister be pleased to state whether the Government (*i*) have appointed or (*ii*) do they contemplate appointing in the near future—

(1) additional Minister or Ministers;

(2) paid official Whips; and

(3) Parliamentary Secretaries?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state their respective names and salaries?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) (1) Government does not appoint Ministers.

(2) and (3) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Mr. PROMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: With reference to answer (*a*) (*i*), in view of the fact that the Minister for the Local Self-Government and Public Health Department has resigned and, there is thus a vacancy in the Cabinet, will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to state whether he has got any instructions from the Governor to take any Minister in his place?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid, by all conventions instructions from Governors to Cabinet Ministers cannot be a subject matter of any interpellation.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to state whether it is the intention of Government to appoint Al-Haj Maulana Dr. Sanaullah as one of the Ministers—I mean as the eleventh Minister?

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: With Mr. Abdul Bari a good assistant.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That question does not arise.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir, I submit that though an advice tendered by any Hon'ble Minister cannot be disclosed, the instructions received from the Governor can be placed before the House

Mr. SPEAKER: I think that any instruction is given by the Governor for the exercise of his function as such and there can therefore be no question with regard to that.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Mr. Abdul Bari is going to be appointed as a Minister?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. That question does not arise.

Changes of text-books in secondary and high schools.

*62. **Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state the result of the enquiry promised by him in the last session on the 29th March, 1938, about frequent changes of text-books in the secondary and high schools?

(*b*) What action have Government taken or do they propose to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I would draw the attention of the member to my reply to clauses (*b*) and (*c*) of the starred question No. 303 asked by him in the last session of the Assembly. I have since been awaiting from him a more detailed statement of the complaints, in order to decide whether an enquiry into the matter is called for.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I draw your attention to the fact that the reply given by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has no bearing on my question. My point is that on the 29th March, 1938, the Hon'ble the Education Minister promised that he would make an enquiry into the matter, and I want to know the result of that enquiry.

Mr. SPEAKER: The substance of his reply is that he has made no enquiry.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: But I want to know specifically from him whether any enquiry has been made or not.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Up to now no enquiry has been made.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Is the Hon'ble Minister prepared to make an enquiry into the matter now?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: My own information is that although changes of text-books take place, they are not very frequent and therefore really not a matter for any complaint. But since the honourable member has repeated the question, I can assure him that as he really feels that he has got a grievance I shall enquire into the matter.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Dual control of educational institutions by the Executive and Education Department of Government.

36. Maulana MD. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMABADI: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware—

(*i*) that there exists a dual control of educational institutions by the Executive and the Education Departments of Government; and

(*ii*) that the authorities of the educational institutions and specially those of the aided institutions are put in difficulties with their applications for renewal of grants and that of affiliations?

(b) If the answer to clause (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of taking immediate steps for ending this dual control and place the affiliation and grant-in-aid matters solely in charge of Education Department?

(c) Is it not a fact that there is a very large number of officers in the Education Department?

(d) If so, what are the reasons for depending on the reports of the Police Department and specially that of the Intelligence Branch?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (a) (i) No.

(ii) I am not aware of any special difficulties.

The Education Department exercises a certain amount of control over schools which receive grants from Government.

Recognition of schools for the purposes of the Matriculation Examination of the University of Calcutta is in the hands of the University.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) and (d) The number of officers in the Education Department is fixed according to the requirements of the department from the educational point of view; and reports from officers other than those belonging to the Education Department are necessary from non-academic points of view which are also relevant when the propriety or otherwise of making grants from the Provincial Revenues is under consideration.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the constitution of the managing committees of all schools are subject to the approval of the University?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that with regard to the managing committees of aided schools they are reported to the University through the Director of Public Inspection?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I am not quite sure, but I think that is the practice.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that according to departmental rules the election of committees of such schools is subject to the approval of the District Magistrates concerned?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: It does, Sir, in this way that in reply to the question whether there exists a dual control, the Hon'ble Minister has said "I am not aware".

Mr. SPEAKER: If you want to ask a supplementary question you must put the same thing in quite a different manner.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I want to know whether according to the Bengal Education Code the constitution of the managing committees of aided schools is subject to the approval of District Magistrates?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: No, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Even then unless you show that it has a bearing on the main question, it does not arise as a suplementary question.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I am coming to that, Sir. Is the Hon'ble the Chief Minister aware that District Magistrates often sit tight for six or eight months or even one or two years over the constitution of managing committees of aided schools?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I have never been a District Magistrate, and I do not know.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that as a result of such delay grants-in-aid of particular schools have been held over for a long time?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Yes, in some cases, but for what reasons I do not know.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the University has made several representations to the Government to look into this matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZUL HAQ: The charges have been mutually made,—the Education Department blames the University, and the University blames the Education Department.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: My question has nothing to do with the mutual charges referred to by the Hon'ble Minister.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: No. I have not

Babu NAGENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, with reference to answers (*c*) and (*d*), what are the non-academic points of view and whether the answer is in full?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Non-academic points of view are those which are not academic.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that only since 1930, when the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin was the Minister-in-charge, this principle of approval by District Magistrates was introduced and that previously it was a matter for the Department of Public Instruction to decide.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I am not aware of that.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be good enough to look into the matter and see that the Department of Public Instruction gets back the power which it enjoyed up to 1930?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I do not see any point in making such an enquiry, but if there is anything I shall enquire into the matter.

Babu NAGENDRA NATH SEN: With reference to question (*d*) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the answer given is sufficient?

Mr. SPEAKER: It does not arise.

Adjournment for a meeting of the Committee of Privileges.

Mr. SPEAKER: I may say for the information of the House that I convened a meeting of the Committee of Privileges which is still holding its deliberations, and in view of that I am very sorry that I have to postpone the business of the House for some time.

The House was then adjourned for half an hour.

(*After adjournment.*)

Report of the Committee of Privileges.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I have your permission to —

Mr. SPEAKER: I will take up the matter day after tomorrow.

Ladies and gentlemen, I must express regret that you had to be detained so long, but it was absolutely unavoidable. I will now lay before the House the report of the Committee of Privileges which is a unanimous report. The Committee of Privileges have considered the following statement made by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in this House yesterday evening. This is the statement:

> "Here I possess money which has passed from a member of the Opposition to two members on this side of the House. The amount is Rs. 3,400. Half notes were passed, and I show them here. Along with this in the handwriting of one of the stars of the Opposition there is a statement that if you sign this paper, you will get the other halves *plus* Rs. 1,600 more in full notes."

That is the end of the speech. The Committee of Privileges have found on investigation that the document put in by Mr. Siddiqi containing a statement, namely, "If you sign this paper, you will get the other halves *plus* Rs. 1,600 more in full notes" in the handwriting of any member or of anybody else did not and does not exist. Mr. Siddiqi has placed the following unsigned writing with certain allegations before Mr. Speaker which has been placed before the Committee:

"To the Secretary,

Independent Proja Party,

Dear Sir,

I want to be a member of the Independent Proja Party. Kindly enrol me as your member. I shall abide by the majority decision.

Yours faithfully,"

The charges as to the passing of notes and other allegations will be investigated, and the result will be put before this House at the earliest possible date.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's Motion for Suspension.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I enquire through you of the honourable member Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi whether having regard to the findings of the Committee of Privileges he is prepared to completely withdraw the statement referred to in the report of the Committee of Privileges and to make a full and unqualified apology to the member concerned and to the House for making that statement?

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think I owe an apology to the House for the language in which the speech was made, but I stand by the charge, the document and the notes. I expect that when the Committee of Privileges have come to a conclusion on the charges I made and if my allegations are found to be incorrect, I shall stand condemned before this House.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, having regard to the statement made by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi,—which I personally very much regret,—I had expected him to take a more reasonable attitude,—I move as follows:—

> "Whereas the Committee of Privileges have found that the document, referred to by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in the course of his speech yesterday did not and does not exist, this Assembly recommends to the Hon'ble the Speaker that Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi be suspended from the meetings of the Assembly for one week from to-day."

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bose, I am quite prepared to consider this matter. What I will do is, I will fix a date for the consideration of this matter, and in the meantime I will circulate a copy of the report. It is quite true that in any matter like this it is quite open to me to obstruct the normal proceedings and take up this matter immediately. It is entirely my discretion. But having regard to the importance of the issues involved, I think the members of the House should get a full copy of the report in their hands before this matter is discussed. Moreover it is a surprise to me. I have not been able to look into the whole subject. So I propose to fix a date as early as possible, and as soon as this no-confidence motion is over, I will announce a date.

Mr. K. NOORUDDIN: On a point of order, Sir. Is the hon'ble member in order to bring a motion like this when the Committee of Privileges are conducting the enquiry.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is one of the matters which I will have to decide.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I make a submission, Mr. Speaker? Motions of this nature have, according to parliamentary conventions, precedence over every other motion, and it has been laid down in Sir Thomas Erskine May's "Parliamentary Practice" in very clear and definite terms. I am referring to the 12th edition of that book at page 241:—

> "The proceedings of the House may be interrupted at any moment save during the progress of a division by a motion based on a matter of privilege, when a matter has recently arisen which directly concerns the privileges of the House, and in that case the House will entertain the motion forthwith."

There is no ambiguity about the language. The parliamentary convention is that in that case where a motion directly concerns the privileges of the House, and that includes certainly, Sir, the privileges of a member, the House will entertain the motion forthwith. Well, the members of the House are well aware of all the facts. The report of the Committee of Privileges to which I have the honour to be a party is a short report. It has been read out by you, Mr. Speaker, to the members of the House and I expect the House has followed it quite clearly. In those circumstances and as there is no division in principle, and as this matter directly affects the no-confidence motion before the House and directly affects the honour and the privilege of each and every member of the House, I would appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, to take this motion at once according to the parliamentary convention.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would like to have the views of the Leader of the House as to the fixing of time.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, It seems to me that a discussion of the subject immediately would not be advisable. It is true that the report has been read out to the House, but there are absentee members who have got a privilege also, and therefore the best course would be to circulate, give notice and fix a date. That is all that I can submit. There are absentee members who are entitled to know about this.

Mr. K. NOORUDDIN: I have not received an answer to my point of order, Sir.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: On a point of order, Sir. I do feel and I do share the view that if it concerns the privileges of this House, the business of the House can be interrupted. But, Sir, the leader of the Opposition has confused altogether the thought that has been expressed in that book. That book says when a motion of privilege can be raised. The matter of the privilege motion was raised in the course of the speech made by Mr. Siddiqi yesterday, and you know that there is a standing order of the House of Commons whenever a motion of privilege is raised in the House that ought to be referred to a Committee of Privileges without division. Only that motion can interrupt the proceedings of the House. But that question does not arise when you, Mr. Speaker, yourself have taken the initiative and have referred it to the Committee of Privileges, and the Committee of Privileges have to-day made only an interim report and the investigation is not yet over. If the charges are established, in that case, Sir, this motion arises. Not only Mr. Siddiqi cannot be suspended but, on the other hand, he should be congratulated for bringing a matter

of this kind before the House. (Cries of "Oh", "Oh" from the Opposition benches.) I repeat that Mr. Siddiqi should be congratulated. Unless and until those charges are established, I submit that this motion cannot be taken up, and I also maintain that this motion is out of order.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, you have allowed one member to make some observations. Will you kindly allow me the same privilege.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Fazlur Rahman rose on a point of order.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I would just remind you that Mr. Rahman said that he would like to make some observations when you stated that you hoped that he would be very brief.

Mr. SPEAKER: When he first rose to make some observations I stopped him and then he said that he rose on a point of order, and that is why I allowed him to speak. His point of order I take it is whether the privilege motion can be discussed on the floor of the House just now.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I also rise on a point of order. The point of order which I raise is this: An unprecedented situation in the history of any legislature in India has arisen to-day. Sir, the ruling which you will give will be in reference to the facts now before the House. The question is not whether the allegation of bribery has been proved or unproved, but the question is whether the first part of the allegation has been proved, namely, whether a document was in existence from which the honourable member was supposed to read and which suggested that one member of the House was offering in writing half notes to another member and the other halves to be handed over at a later date after the work was done. The Committee of Privileges have unanimously found that that document did not and does not exist in fact. Mr. Siddiqi thus stands charged with serious misconduct and this has been proved against him. My submission to you is that you will hold the motion moved by the Leader of the Opposition to be in order, irrespective of the fact whether the actual offer of bribe is proved at a later date or not.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I, Sir, very briefly deal with the points raised by the Hon'ble the Leader of the House and the honourable member, Mr. Fazlur Rahman? The Leader of the House took only one point, namely, that there were some absentees amongst the members this evening. May I say one word with regard to that? Motions of no-confidence have been going on since yesterday, and the

importance of the motions demanded that every member of the House should be present to-day. The second motion of no-confidence stood over yesterday for general discussion to-day, and therefore every member of the House who takes any interest in the Legislature ought to have been present to-day. I, therefore, submit, Sir, that it is no excuse to put forward that to-day there are some absentees. Further, Sir, I expect that during the short space of one hour which remains this evening it will not be possible for us to conclude the debate, so that the motion will be put to the vote in all probability to-morrow, and, therefore, even if there are absentees to-day that will not prejudice them in any way.

Then with regard to the point of order raised by Mr. Fazlur Rahman, he started by admitting that in the case of a privilege motion the House will entertain the motion forthwith. Therefore, no point of order really arises.

Now as regards the issues, may I state very shortly the position. The Committee of Privileges considered two issues because only two issues arose.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: May I rise on a point of order, Sir?

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I have the undivided attention of the House without any interruption?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: The Committee of Privileges were concerned with only two issues of fact. The first issue was whether in fact there was passing of halt notes and the second issue was whether in fact there was in the handwriting of "one of the stars of the Opposition" a statement that "if you sign this paper you will get the other halves plus sixteen hundred rupees in full notes." The Committee of Privileges found that it was possible to come to a final and definite decision regarding the second issue and their decision which is before the House is, viz., that the document referred to by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in the course of his speech yesterday did not and does not exist. Sir, I ask this House whether or not that second statement which the Committee of Privileges found definitely——

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not like to interrupt, but I may remind you that you are addressing me and not the House.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Yes, Sir, I am sorry. The Committee of Privileges found the second issue against the honourable member Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi. The second issue is a very clear issue. Even if the matter had not come before the Committee of Privileges, I would have been entitled to raise the question before the House and to ask you to take up the motion forthwith, but here we have in addition the unanimous finding of the Committee of Privileges that the document referred to by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in the course of his speech yesterday did not and does not exist. Sir, I submit that no member of this House, absentee or otherwise, will be prejudiced by the motion being taken up to-day, because in all probability the motion cannot be pressed to the vote to-day. I submit, Sir, that this matter can be stopped by my friend Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, making a full and unqualified apology, which I regret he did not.

Mr. C. MILLAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I rise on a point of order, that while it would be perfectly in order for this House now to move a privilege motion to debate the report of the Privilege Committee, it is no part of the duty of this House to move any motion as to what action you, Sir, should take to give effect to the report of the Committee of Privileges? I am sure that every member of the House will rest content in leaving the matter in your hands. I submit that it is not a matter for debate in the House and is, to my mind, a matter entirely in your hands.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will not allow any further discussion on this matter. It is now prayer time and I will adjourn the House for fifteen minutes. After adjournment I will give my decision.

At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.

(*After adjournment.*)

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I deal with the point of order raised by Mr. Curtis Millar?

Mr. SPEAKER: That would be the last point of order.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: His point of order was that the power lies with the Speaker and not with the House. I hope he is satisfied now that it is not so—the power is not with the Speaker but with the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: The language of your motion was—"This Assembly recommends to the Hon'ble Speaker" and so on, that is the language which you read.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Yes, that means that this Assembly empowers the Speaker—"recommends" really means "empowers the Speaker."

Mr. C. MILLAR: May I submit, Sir, that this is exactly the same point of order as was raised by the hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition. I think, Sir, that the real point is that the privileges of this House are still a matter for consideration by the Committee and no final rules have yet been laid down. As a House, we have not the powers of any court. We do not constitute a court, and pending the determination of the whole question of privileges now under consideration—not this particular question but the general question—we must abide by our own Rules and Standing Orders. Rule 15 delegates authority to your hands. It says "The Speaker shall preserve order and have all powers necessary for the purpose of enforcing his decisions on all points of order." This is essentially a point of order because it is laid down in rule 12 that "A member while speaking must not make a personal charge against a member"; and, until our rules of privilege are more clearly defined, I submit that the adjudication of this matter lies in your hands, and your hands only.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Evidently, what I said is not very welcome to the hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition. Being a party to the decision of the Privileges Committee, I agreed to what you read, Sir, and, therefore, I said that I would apologise to the House. I accept the decision of the Privileges Committee and I offer an apology to the House for the statement in the first part of that report, and as regards the second part I would say nothing now.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think this is a happy ending of the whole matter. The debate will now go on.

No-confidence Debate in the Ministers.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I was disturbed yesterday in what I was trying to place before the House. I hope I shall be allowed to continue undisturbed to-day. What I wanted to say yesterday, was what Shaikh Sadi, the great Persian poet, has said—

بخدا که با عقوبت دوزخ برابر است * رفتن به پائے مردی همسایه در بهشت

By God, the torture of hell is equal to
The entering into paradise with the aid of the neighbour.

It is, indeed, true that the punishment of hell is better than going to heaven under the shadow of the neighbour. My friends who have brought forward these motions of no-confidence, evidently, do not stand on their own legs. They look for support from other quarters, and therefore, I hold, Sir, that it is not the right way of approaching others and themselves going under the protection of neighbours just to make out a case.

It was also said yesterday that in any divisions that take place, it will be the European Group that will decide the fate of the Ministry. Yes, it will be the European Group; but the fault is not ours. I may again remind the House, through you, Sir, that efforts were made by the Congress Group to come to terms with the European Group. If coming to terms with the European Group is encouraged by the Congress, then why are they taking us to task for doing the same thing? There is an Urdu couplet:

ہم اگر بیٹھیں تو کاہل کہلائیں * شیخ بیٹھے تو توکّل ٹھہرے

If we sit (doing nothing) we are called "idle"
(But) if the Shaikh sits—it is taken as resignation to Divine Will.

What I do is always wrong and what you do is always right and never wrong. This is not fair to us.

Ten motions of no-confidence have been placed before this House. Supposing they are all carried,—I should like the honourable the Leader of the Opposition to tell me whether,—not excepting himself—he can produce a working Cabinet for the Province of Bengal and is he ready to entrust the destinies of this Province into the hands of people whom I called, yesterday, "mercenary marionettes"? If it ever comes into existence, at best it will be a C-3 Cabinet.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What else the present Cabinet is, then?

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: No, Sir. The problem before us is not that of a party. The problem before us is how to bring up the backward majority of the province, how to improve the economic condition of the peasants, how to forge ahead with our industries and how to raise the condition of our workers to a level that would give Bengal a position that she very rightly deserves. In such circumstances, to have brought forward these motions of no-confidence was a very great mistake. May I go further and inform the House that I have had occasions to talk with some leading members of the

Congress persuasion and I was told that there could not be a Cabinet in Bengal unless Mr. Fazlul Huq was at its head (cries of "question, question"). With this assertion coming from quarters which are not at all friendly to the Chief Minister, I am really astounded at the fact that the hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition has thought it fit and proper to arrange to bring forward and support these motions of no-confidence. The impending assent to the Tenancy Bill may be the reason for the haste.

I hold, Sir, that the record of the present Cabinet in the face of the continued and bitter opposition, has been one of which any Government or party may be proud. As I said yesterday, we are, unlike other provinces, a minority in the House, and therefore we have got to turn to our right and to our left for support, and in doing that we have got to come to terms with the various members and groups of the Coalition. In spite of that I declare, Sir, that in every department of the Government definite progress has been made, definite steps have been taken to get rid of the legacy of the past. New policies have been initiated, and matters brought up to date, so that whoever comes after the present Cabinet may benefit from them. These gentlemen who have brought forward these resolutions have not cast their glance over the whole of India. They perhaps think that the present Cabinet ought to have changed the destinies of Bengal, in 24 hours! They have talked of prohibition, they have talked of labour and they have even dragged two little boys into the argument. Yes, these things have happened, but look at Cawnpore, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Madras, Bihar and, in short, at every province of India and you will find that administration is a game that cannot be played by certain sections of the Indian people. I hold that the destinies of Bengal are safe in the hands of the people who are now at the helm. I do not claim perfection for anybody. I admit that every government makes mistakes and our Cabinet must have made mistakes, but in comparison with the mistakes made in other provinces, the Ministers in Bengal stand out like giants before pigmies. (DR. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Not like tigers and lions?) They, in the other provinces, have neither the brains nor the capacity to run governments and administrations and whenever they are in a difficulty they have got to seek inspiration from some outside spiritual source. In Bengal when the Opposition found that it was very ineffective they thought that by the importation of Mahatma Gandhi here they would be able to influence the decisions of the Government. Another case was that when there were Muslim grievances as, in Bihar, the unfortunate Muslim Minister—

Mr. SPEAKER: You are not in order in alluding to these things.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: In another province where such problems have arisen a great leader of the Congress persuasion,

belonging to my brotherhood, has been despatched post haste from Calcutta to go and settle them to save the situation. Inexperience of administration has not enabled them to go forward with competence in the business of government and here, if we have sincerity, if we have love for Bengal, if we have love for Indian Administration, and if we have fairplay in our hearts, then even my friends opposite in that little block over there, will realise that all round progress is being made satisfactorily. They are playing with fire. They have joined with people who do not mean them well and who are making toys and puppets of them. Yesterday, when a serious question arose, it pained me to see the hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition trying to separate himself from these others of the Opposition. His shoulders should be broad enough to bear the responsibility for and on behalf of every member who has gone into the Opposition, especially when we have been regaled with news of the formation of a party called the United Front. A piece of advice that I would like to offer to my friends is this: If you feel dissatisfied with the present Government, you have every right to criticise it, but, for goodness' sake, do not allow yourselves to become the mouth-pieces and tools of people who have not got the courage or the honesty to sponsor even a single one of the ten motions of non-confidence. If this Government was considered to be incompetent, I think it was the duty, constitutional and otherwise, of the hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition to have come forward with all his brood, like the mother hen under her wings, and cackled before the present Cabinet. We would then have witnessed a real battle royal.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I move that the question be now put.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I am surprised, Sir, that such a motion should be made at this stage. Yesterday you said at first that you would allow a general discussion on the first motion of no-confidence, but due to some misunderstanding, or inadvertence, or whatever you may call it, we could not have a general discussion on the first motion! Then, on this being pointed out to you, you said that you would allow a general discussion on the second motion. You know, Sir, that there are a number of speakers on this side of the House who are desirous of speaking. Further, it is my desire also to speak, and you were good enough to tell me that you would give me half an hour to speak. Then the Chief Minister also will no doubt want to speak, and then the Hon'ble Minister, against whom this motion is moved, is no doubt entitled to speak also.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I could speak when the motion against me is under discussion.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it is open to me whether to accept this closure motion or not, but I think it would be convenient if I accepted the closure if it is again moved after the Leader of the Opposition and the Hon'ble Minister concerned have spoken. It is no doubt desirable that he should be given an opportunity of making a statement after the Leader of the Opposition. If after these two speeches are finished the closure is not moved, then I should be prepared to consider the question of extending the debate.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, there are other party leaders who also want to speak on the general question.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bose, you can speak now.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Do you want me to speak now?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes; if after you and the Hon'ble Minister concerned have spoken the closure motion is again moved, I will accept it. But if not moved then the debate may continue.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I humbly request, Sir,—I certainly proposed to speak this evening—that you will be good enough to allow Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan to speak before me?

Mr. SPEAKER: In view of the closure motion having been moved, it has become a little difficult for me to allow other speeches, but in view of your position as the Leader of the Opposition, I think it should be fair on my part to give you an opportunity to speak, and more than this I am not inclined to go.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: But, Sir, merely moving of closure does not mean that you should accept it wholly or in part. May I also submit that if there is a general discussion other motions would be cut short very much. May I tell you, Sir, that the Hon'ble the Leader of the House has just told me that he has asked the mover of the closure motion to withdraw it?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think we can come to an amicable settlement if, as I understand, some of the other motions are not going to be moved.

(Voices from the Opposition—No, no).

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Having a share of the responsibility on behalf of the Opposition to arrange the debates, I took the earliest possible opportunity to consult the different groups and I have

submitted to you a full list wherein the names of persons of all different groups constituting the Opposition, who want to take part the general discussion, appear, and you will find therein that th is one member from the Anglo-Indian group, and there is one mem from each of the other different groups, and if in a general discuss they are shut out while the questions are put on a motion like this, shall lose a valuable right and the Opposition will not be allowed discharge the function which it is their right to do.

Mr. SPEAKER: Since the mover has withdrawn the closu motion, I want to have a clear from the Leader of the Opposition a the Leader of the House as to whether this debate should be indefinite continued or whether we shall try to finish it within the rough tim table.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I answer your question, M Speaker? If a full discussion is allowed on the second motion, regards the other motions, what I propose to do, in exercise of the auth rity vested in me as the Leader of the Opposition, is to request t members occupying the Opposition Benches either to move those motio formally without any speech and allow them to be voted upon or not move them at all. My estimate is that we will require another day f these motions.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think in view of this definitely categorical stat ment from the Leader of the Opposition that if full discussion allowed on this motion, then all the other motions will be formall moved and voted upon or not moved at all, I should like to ascertai from the Leader of the House whether he has any objection to wha the Leader of the Opposition has proposed.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I do not object to any thing.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have got a list of 10 speakers from the Oppo sition and one speaker from the European group, and I hope Mr. Bos will agree with me that there should be no further request from his sid to allow any other member to speak. So far as you, Mr. Bose, and other speakers are concerned, I hope it is the unanimous desire of th House that we want to bring this debate to a close as soon as possible If that is the opinion of the House, I propose to allow 10 minutes to each of the speakers, and after that I would call upon the Hon'ble Minister to speak.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: May I submit to you, Sir, that it would appear that I was to move the no-confidence motion against the Hon'ble the Chief Minister himself. Therefore 10 minutes is a very short time for me. I tell you and I tell the House that when the actual motion will come up before the House, I may or may not move it; I may withdraw it. That is a different thing altogether. But at this stage when I am participating in the general debate I may be allowed a much longer time than 10 minutes to do justice to the gigantiveness —(Laughter from the Coalition Group)—of the subject. Anyway, it is my fortune that of all people on earth and of all the 10 members of the Cabinet I am going to move the no-confidence motion against the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq—(Shame, shame, from the Coalition Group)—I would ask the members of the Coalition Group not to cry 'shame, shame' but to have patience to hear me attentively and if they do so, they will be convinced that there is nothing to cry shame on me.

When the new Constitution was vouchsafed to us, I had my ideal of the Chief Minister of Bengal, and I may tell you, Mr. Speaker, that I am an idealist by nature and that I am a visionary, and that therefore I had the ideal Chief Minister in my mind. But that ideal Chief Minister was not a curious bundle of inconsistencies, that ideal Chief Minister was not to be guilty of nepotism and favouritism of the worst type, that ideal Chief Minister was not to be a time-server and an opportunist, that ideal Chief Minister was not to be a past master —

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Am I to be discussed in this motion against Mr. Suhrawardy, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: He can speak upon all the Ministers in a general debate of this kind.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: My ideal Chief Minister was not to be a *de jure* Chief Minister and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker to be the *de facto* Chief Minister, my ideal Chief Minister was not to be a past master in the art of using abusive languages, my ideal Chief Minister was not to be unscrupulous in breaking promises and pledges to the country, my ideal Chief Minister was not to be of "Arthur Hamilton Turner" fame, my ideal Chief Minister was not to be one who did not know any distinction between truth and falsehood, my ideal Chief Minister was not to be a man who, by his conduct, would lower the dignity of the position of the Chief Minister by travelling all over the country accompanied by immature youths of questionable character who would be travelling in first class without tickets, and even, if detected by the Railway Department, would not be brought to book.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not correct to say that Bengal is indebt to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. On the other hand, in my estim tion the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq is heavily indebted to Bengal

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. You should not refer to b indebtedness.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: All right, Sir. Anyway it is not h pecuniary indebtedness that I was referring to. The whole point is th the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has done many things. He has play many games. But every time like the prodigal son of the Bible he h been received by the Muslims of Bengal, and he has been placed on a high pedestal in public life and from that high pedestal he has no achieved great accomplishments. One of his first accomplishments the appointment of a European Chairman for the Land Revent Commission. The second achievement is the introduction of dog racing Behala. (Shame, shame from the Opposition Benches.) The thir achievement of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister is his phenomenal failu to introduce compulsory free primary education in rural Bengal, bu instead to spend 25 lakhs of rupees for a separate Council Hous for the Upper House, and again to spend 5 lakhs of rupees for Purdah College, a misnomer, where ladies of luxury and fashio would be reading and the children of the rural Bengal who ar in colossal ignorance will not come to study. Sir, exactly 1 days after the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq assumed charge of th portfolio of education, he spoke, in response to the address presente to him by Muslim Students' Federation at the Town Hall that anyway—he did not mention in what way—money would be forthcoming and h would see that free and compulsory primary education would be intro duced in Bengal, and he stated further that if he failed to introduc free and compulsory primary education in Bengal, he with hi colleagues would resign their seats. (Cries of "Oh", "Oh!" fron Coalition Benches.) On the other hand, what the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlu Huq has done during this short time of his tenure as Chief Minister. will place before the House with the consent of the Hon'bl Mr. Speaker, a note that would satisfy everybody of this House. I wil read that note for your information. First of all "great offices mus have great talents" and it would appear that the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlu Huq has great talents. But he has used his talents for self-aggrandize ment and for the benefit of his dear and near ones and members of his own family and relations. And as regards that you will see first of all——

Mr. SPEAKER: If it is wanted that this debate should be concluded in a smooth manner, I would only appeal to both sections of the House that the speaker does not violate the rules of the debate.

He will kindly exercise restraint so that we can come to the end of this debate. One will provoke the other and my task will be made difficult. I hope you will kindly bear this in mind.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, so far as your appeal is concerned, it has already been responded to before the appeal was made, and there has been no interruptions from this side of the House.

Mr. K. NOORUDDIN: I submit, Sir, that when Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi was speaking, the Opposition continuously heckled him and interrupted his speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi was interrupted for 7 minutes and Mr. Abdul Hakeem has been interrupted for 7 minutes. I hope there will be an end of this on both sides.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: On a point of order, Sir. Yesterday while the motion of no-confidence was being moved against the Hon'ble Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, you gave a distinct ruling that no personal vendetta or vindictiveness should be shown in the speeches. To-day Mr. Abdul Hakeem has been giving out his venom——

(There was a great uproar from all sections of the House.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose assured me just now that so far as his section is concerned they have restrained, but this demonstration is not an example. I will appeal to Mr. Abdul Bari that he will leave the matter of conducting the debate to me.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, these are some of the staring instances of nepotism of which the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq is grievously guilty:—

(1) A foreign liquor shop at Agarpara Road under the name of T. Malcolm & Co. was settled with one Mr. S. K. Das Gupta, son of the Chief Minister's personal clerk Sukhamoy Das Gupta, shortly after the assumption of office by the Chief Minister.

(2) A foreign liquor shop at the junction of College Street and Bowbazar Street under the name of G. C. Shaw & Co., was settled with one of the nephews of the Chief Minister.

(3) Another nephew of the Chief Minister, who had no employment has been given an appointment of upper grade clerk.

(4) A cousin of the Chief Minister, who was a retired Government pensioner and Superannuated Muslim has been appointed an assistant in the office of Wakf Commissioner after the assumption of office by the Chief Minister.——

(The member at this stage reached his time-limit.)

May I have five minutes more Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: May I have two minutes extra, Sir which have been lost in interruptions?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already given you two minutes extra. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: May I place this statement before the House, Sir? I have got enough of this.

Maulvi TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I would first of all like to repudiate the charge that was brought by my hon'ble friend Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in his speech of yesterday——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, after the happy ending of this matter I hope you will not drag in such matter any more till an occasion arises later on.

Maulvi TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: But the other portion still remains Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter for investigation.

Maulvi TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I repudiate the charge so far as my party is concerned. Sir, I am sorry that I was not in the House most of the time when Mr. Siddiqi was on his legs yesterday, and so I had not the advantage of hearing first hand the greater portion of his fighting speech. I think, Sir, he threw out a challenge to me to state if Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was not the leader of the various Opposition groups. Mr. Bose is as much a leader of our group as Mr. Siddiqi the *de facto* leader of the Coalition group, the largest group supporting the Ministry, is also the leader of the European group which is now sailing in the same boat with the Coalition. ("Hear, hear" from Opposition benches.) The insinuation is preposterous. In the matter of the no-confidence motion there is a general agreement between the views of my party and those of the Congress party. When we agree

with the Congress we shall not hesitate to act in collaboration with them, and when we differ, we shall not likewise hesitate to act in opposition to the Congress. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches). As I have already stated we have lost our confidence in the present Cabinet as a whole, although I admit that on the Cabinet there are men for whom I have great respect. In spite of all the bragging on the part of its Captain the team of Ministers has proved itself altogether impotent to score. Nay the foul games it has hitherto played have amply demonstrated that it is positively mischievous and is doing a great disservice to the country.

I am convinced that the Ministry is incapable of implementing its pledge to make primary education free and compulsory during its term of office. It is equally incapable of raising even in the slightest degree the standard of living of the cultivator and labourer. It is incapable of planning any large agricultural improvement. It will not be able to do anything to raise the price of jute. It is unable even to make provision for giving good drinking water to the people. It cannot save the people from the ravages of malaria and other preventible diseases. It cannot give medical relief to the rural population. It is incapable of tackling the urgent problem of rural indebtedness. The operation of the Agricultural Debtors Act will be of doubtful benefit to the people unless simultaneous provision is made for rural credit. The Ministry is incapable of saving the millions of our weavers from utter ruination. This national industry in going to be annihilated and the Government, I believe, is not going to raise even its little finger for its protection. It is incapable of framing or executing any comprehensive plan of industrial development. Bengal's dead rivers will never be resuscitated under the present regime, and its dying rivers will be nearer to their end during their term of office.

The anomalous and ruinous land system of Bengal can never be set right by the ministry. They are incapable of tackling Bengal's growing unemployment problem. The Government has no advanced labour policy. The Government is capitalist-minded and is incapable of dealing with the labour problem in a just and humane spirit. Under the present regime the labour situation has become worse.

Again the Ministry has not done nor will be ever capable of doing anything substantial for the Muslims of Bengal, in whose name they are running the administration. The Muslims will never get their due share in the public services nor anything bold or substantial will be done for their educational uplift during the present regime. Sir, it is almost an impossible task to catalogue all their sins of omission. Nor are their sins of commission either too few or too trivial. They talk of prohibition and yet at the same time pursue a policy that results in increasing consumption of alcoholic preparations. Though vociferous in their lip professions against gambling, for reasons best known to

themselves they have sanctioned a monostrous thing like dog racing and betting. They have contrived a plea of justification that the races bring some money to the Tuberculosis Fund. Nothing more perverse, more immoral and depraved can be concieved of! This compromise with vice is nothing short of Satanic. The operations of the Gambling Act have been suspended, so far as dog racing is concerned. I am sure that in pursuance of this nefarious policy the ministry will not hesitate to repeal the Act altogether, provided all gamblers and gambling concerns agree to pay a certain percentage of their immoral profits to some fund of the Ministry's choice. Again, far from raising their little finger to solve the difficult problem of the province, the Ministry have been deliberately pursuing a policy that has already made the communal tension far worse than what it was when they assumed office. A false and insidious cry of religion in danger has been raised and this has poisoned the very atmosphere of the country. The Ministry, to keep itself in office, is fostering that cry and has all but dragged the country into the mouth of a volcano. Freedom of opinion and speech and other civil liberties of the people have been endangered as never before. Intimidation and assault has taken the place of reason and argument. At any moment this city may fall into the hands of rowdies. The weak-kneed, and shall I say, conniving attitude of the Ministry if continued is sure to lead to sheer disaster. How long should Bengal be allowed to groan under the dead weight of a Ministry like this? When will Bengal get rid of this nightmare? Let my hon'ble friends opposite answer.

Mr. SPEAKER: This debate will continue till to-morrow at 4-45 p.m.

There is just one matter that I will mention. It was not anticipated that this debate would continue till to-morrow and, therefore, we have to issue fresh tickets for visitors' galleries for to-morrow. So, so far as the present tickets are concerned, except for the Speaker's Gallery and the Blocks down below, fresh tickets will be issued. So, to-day's tickets will not hold good for all other galleries to-morrow. It is unfortunate but cannot be helped because we cannot accommodate so many visitors.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned till 4-45 p.m., on Wednesday, the 10th August, 1938, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 10th August, 1938, at 4·45 p.m.

Present

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, ten Hon'ble Ministers and 234 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given

Muslim appointments in Noakhali Collectorate.

*63. **Maulvi MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the last three years in the Noakhali Collectorate—

(*i*) the number of appointments made;

(*ii*) the number of Muslims in these appointments; and

(*iii*) the proportion of Muslims in upper division to that of non-Muslims?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the answer to clauses (i) to (iii) of starred question No. 63 showing the appointments made in the Noakhali Collectorate during the three years ending 1937-38.

	1935-36.		1936-37.		1937-38.	
	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.
(i) Number of appointments made ..	6	23	2	36	Nil	43
(ii) Number of Muslims in these appointments ..	1	8	2	17	Nil	22

(iii) Proportion of Muslims in upper division to that of Non-Muslims—

	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.
1935-36	7	5
1936-37	6	6
1937-38	6	6

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the large number of temporary appointments were made with a view to avoid the Public Service Commission?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Public Service Commission has nothing to do with these appointments; they are outside the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission.

Mr. PROMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, of the 43 appointments that have been made in 1937-38, how many went to the members of the scheduled castes?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I submit, Sir, that this question does not arise.

Debate on No-Confidence Motions.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, the debate which we have had during the last two days has provided us with several lessons. But, I believe, Sir, the most outstanding lesson is the fact that whatever may be said on behalf of the supporters of the present Ministry, the Ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Indian members of this House. That is a fact and not a conjecture which cannot be challenged by anybody either inside this House or outside. It is indeed an irony of fate that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, a great dreamer of dreams of lions and tigers simultaneously, of Thaneswar and Panipath, of Serajuddowlla and Mirjafar, has, at last when the crucial time comes, to depend on the support, if not of the direct descendants of Lord Clive, of the main pillars of Clive Street.

Be that as it may, I believe it is the right of every member to ask himself as to what the reason really is why Government have lost the confidence of the people of this province, and, Sir, the answer to that question is—I have to say this with great deliberation—that during the last 16 months the present Government of Bengal have had no comprehensive constructive programme before them for advancing the national cause. I believe, Sir, that is at the root of the weakness of the present Government. Who will deny that the Government started with a great advantage, the advantage of a solvent Finance

Department and who will deny to-day that while the previous Government were bankrupt in funds and could do nothing, the present Government, though having plenty of funds at their disposal, have been bankrupt otherwise? Look at problems like Agriculture, Industries, Sanitation, Public Health, Education, Unemployment—in every one of these spheres Bengal has to be put on the high road to progress and prosperity and for that the lead has to come from the representatives of the people who occupy the Ministerial Benches of the day. But unfortunately, although the Government have to their credit individual legislative measures some of which are no doubt intended for the amelioration of the condition of the people of the country, the chief defect from which such individual measures suffer is that they are not part and parcel of any big constructive programme which can place Bengal on a sounder and stable basis. Thus they often defeat the very object they aim to serve. It is difficult to ascertain as to what exactly the reason is why such a programme of national advancement of the province has not been placed before the country during the last 16 months. I will not ask, Sir, if it is due to incapacity or inefficiency or want of time; for that perhaps the House may unanimously agree to leave the answer to the wisest and the wittiest of the Ministers—our distinguished friend the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, noted for clarity of vision, who rightly urges his hearers to see what he always says.

But, Sir, let us not forget the disastrous consequences of the absence of a programme on the administration of the province during the last 16 months. What has actually happened? What has happened is that Government in some fateful hour decided—I do not know who was responsible for this decision—that the way to serve the best interests of Bengal was to plan a basis of administration which will be entirely or principally communal in character. Sir, this was done perhaps with the belief of convincing the Muslim members of this House and the Muslim population of Bengal that the Government of the day were really intending to look after the interests of the Muslims themselves. I have no desire here to relate in detail the manner in which the rights and liberties of one particular community have been trampled under foot; I have no desire here to relate in detail how there has spread to-day, on account of partiality and inefficiency of the present Government, a state of insecurity unparalleled in the history of Bengal. The cry of Islam in danger was shamelessly raised at every time when Government found their policy and action were ruthlessly exposed.

Here, Sir, with a sense of regret and humiliation I have to say that the part played by the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister of the Bengal Cabinet, was entirely unworthy of the position which he occupies. Bengal expected better of him. I shall leave him

with this remark that, loveable, he certainly is, but undependable entirely also! I shall leave him with this remark that, unfortunately, he is at once an asset and a liability of the first magnitude to any Government to which he may belong. But, Sir, what was the result of this policy—of this policy of "Islam in danger"—of this cry of communal warfare which was raised in season and out of season? Soon people realised and this realization came from Moslem quarters—the Ministers' own party—that what really was in danger was not "Islam". What were in danger were the self-interests of individuals and groups. The abuse which has been hurled at the Moslem members who have had the courage to leave the Ministerial Party and come over to the Opposition is entirely undeserving. After all is said and done, what, Sir, is the difference between the interests of Hindus and Muhammadans? We have been fighting over appointments and services and for a few crumbs that fall from the Masters' table but so far as vital questions are concerned, do we not stand on the same footing? Sir, with regard to proverty and disease, does it make any distinction between the Hindus and the Muhammadans? With regard to illiteracy, with regard to the want of industrial facilties in the country, does it make any difference whether one is a Hindu or one is a Muhammadan? Does economic depression make any difference between a Hindu and a Muhammadan? And shall I ask at the end with regard to our common political servitude, is it any the less galling to a Muhammadan than to a Hindu? Sir, the fact remains that there has been a considerable deflection from the Ministerialist Party and to-day the attack upon the Government comes not from Hindus alone, not from Muhammadans alone but we have in the Opposition Hindus including the Scheduled Castes, Muhammadans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians condemning the disastrous policy which has been pursued by this Government during the last 16 months.

This is not all. There are other serious charges which have to be brought against the Government and that relates to what we have witnessed during the last few days when we have been made to feel that the Government of the country have abdicated and Calcutta was being controlled by goondas and hooligans of the locality. Sir, the fact remains unchallenged that during the last few days members of the Legislature were attacked by goondas and hooligans, and although police assistance was asked for, such assistance was not readily available. (A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCH: Some of them were kidnapped, too!) The fact also remains that the attack was made even on a man like Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee who could by no chance be known to any Muhammadan goonda or hooligan. Sir, whose we ask were the hidden hands behind the scene which directed the activities of these hooligans and goondas? Will they unmask themselves and come out in the open? These are questions, Sir, which

demand an answer from the Government? There has been a great demonstration. Demonstrations certainly are within the rights of any political party or organization. But, Sir, we cannot forget that these demonstrations were the result of the circulation of notorious leaflets where abominable lies were uttered by persons belonging to the Muslim League who put their names as signatories to that document. What were those lies?—that the Government of the day was attempted to be displaced by a party which wanted to stop prayers in mosques, which wanted to stop the circulation of the Quran among the Mussalmans of Bengal, and lies like that. Sir, there was a direct appeal to religious fanaticism and I ask, what was the Home Minister of the Government of Bengal doing all this while?

(At this point Mr. K. Nooruddin rose on a point of order, and there were shouts of "sit down, sit down" from the Congress Benches, while members from the Coalition Benches cried out that Mr. Nooruddin was rising on a point of order and he must be heard.)

Mr. K. NOORUDDIN: I rise on a point of order, Sir, and I know that no member can question my right to do so. Can the honourable member, who was speaking just now, produce such leaflets as he describes?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED (and other party leaders): That is certainly not a point of order, and you should not have at all risen to disturb Mr. Mookerjee.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Mr. Shamsuddin and leaders of other different groups—whatever might be the temper of the rank and file—I expect a better temper from those who are the leaders of the different groups.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: This particularly applies to the Home Minister also.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid, Mr. Nooruddin, that yours was not a point of order, but a point of information.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Or rather a point of disorder, Sir.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Will you kindly see, Mr. Speaker, that I do not lose these two minutes that have been spent over this so-called point of order? Sir, let me proceed. The question that I put was, what was the Hon'ble the Home Minister doing all this

while to check the circulation of these leaflets? There is no denying the fact that this was a direct appeal to religious fanaticism, there is no denying the fact that the persons who have put down their names to these documents belong to the party to which the Home Minister belongs, there is no denying the fact that hundreds and thousands of such leaflets must have been circulated throughout the length and breadth of the province—

Mr. SPEAKER: I must say, Mr. Mookerjee, that so far as my knowledge of Parliamentary practice goes, where a member is making a serious charge depending upon any document he should be equipped with that document.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Unfortunately, Sir, I have not got the original with me, but I have got the English translations as they appeared in the newspapers and which remain uncontradicted. The charge I am placing against the Government is not yet that the Government themselves have instigated the publication of these pamphlets. The charge which I am now bringing forward is that after such publication was issued it was the duty of the Home Minister of the Government of Bengal to see that persons who issued such documents were brought to book before a Court of law. That is the charge which I am now bringing against the Minister for the present. Sir, what again about the publication of equally fanatical articles in the evening daily of Calcutta which is a supporter of the Ministry? Sir, will you please read some of the articles which appeared in the Saturday issue of this evening paper, and judge for yourself as the custodian of the rights and liberties of the House whether it is not a clear call to arms so far as the Mussalmans in this province are concerned? The question which I am asking is whether, in this way, by their inaction, the Government have not thrown themselves open to the severe charge that they must have had some hidden hand in the matter of circulation and publication of highly inflammable articles. Otherwise, they would have stopped this publication and also taken suitable action against the authors of these articles.

Sir, the position is a very serious one, and unless Government are prepared to take responsibility for the circulation of these leaflets and articles, Government owe it to every one to see that their authors are brought to book. Sir, lastly, I would appeal to Sir George Campbell who in his wisdom has seen it right to lend support to the Ministry now in power and has turned the scale. From him and from none other, Bengal expects an answer as to whether Government are to be permitted to fan the flame of communal passions directly or indirectly and resort to means which virtually mean surrender of ordered Government to the mercy of goondas and hooligans.

Mr. J. R. WALKER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had no intention of taking any part in this debate and would not have done so had I not taken exception to some of the remarks made by my honourable friends who represent Labour in this House.

I do not intend to deal with the general question, but I want to speak in particular on the charges laid against the Hon'ble the Labour Minister.

Sir, representatives of employers, both Indian and European, have stated that Trade Unions would be recognized provided these Unions were conducted on proper lines. In the September session of last year Mr. Ninomo outlined in this House the Jute Mill Employers' attitude towards labour organizations. He said, they were prepared to recognize any Trade Union which was registered and had been in active existence long enough to show that it was conducted on right lines. He said that the Unions must conform to the model rules laid down by Government and must represent a substantial number of the persons they claim to represent and be conducted on sound Trade Union principles. I feel sure that attitude is supported by all right-minded employers throughout India.

We are all out for an improvement in Labour conditions. There is room for improvement. We shall do everything we possibly can to co-operate, but I would like to ask my honourable friends who claim to represent labour what they have done for their constituencies, whether since September last year they have done anything to try and establish sound Trade Unions on these lines. They say, the activities of the Labour Minister have prevented the growth of such Trade Unions, but from my knowledge of the Jute Mill Industry I have not yet heard of any Trade Union which was trying to establish itself on sound lines, which has been hampered in its work either by the Labour Minister or by any employer. There are Labour leaders who associate themselves with the Congress and who bring themselves into prominence by attempting to force legislation by encouraging mass resistance and strikes. I think, it has been shown that this was the method adopted at Cawapore and the finding of the Labour Enquiry Committee there that the Labour Union had to recognise itself before recognition could be given to it, is proof of what I say. Being conscious of the fact that our business enterprise is a form of service to the community, we recognize our responsibilities and know that a contented labour force means better work and therefore enables us to discharge our duties to labour and ensure that the investing public receive a fair return on the money which they have put into enterprise.

The Jute Mill strikes of last year were political, not economic, and were the results of promises made to the workers during the election campaign which could not possibly be fulfilled. The fact that we have

been comparatively free from labour trouble in this Province since the Jute Mill strikes, reflects credit on the Labour Minister and his policy.

It is not the Labour Minister who is at fault but the contending ambitions of rival labour leaders which have discredited them among the workers and employers, and set back the pace of advancement. By the reckless falsity of their campaign they bring discredit not only upon themselves but upon the Party under whose auspices they operate. The net result of their activities has been by means of strikes to bring needless suffering upon the workers they claim to benefit and hinder the development of proper Trade Unions.

In addition to the other work he is doing on behalf of Labour, the Labour Minister has given his attention to the all-important point of "Continuity of Service", and he has put forward to employers suggestions in which they are co-operating towards that end. The Minister can be assured of the cordial co-operation of the employers in his endeavours for the welfare of Labour. 'We must build soundly and surely, not proceeding by hasty leaps or by vain promises.'

We, as a Party, are united in supporting the policy of Government and in opposing the motion of criticism that has been put forward.

Khan Bahadur A. M. L. RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the political skirmish in the days just preceding this no-confidence motion has attracted the attention of the whole of India and in Bengal all eyes are focussed on the drama that is being enacted in the Legislature now. Let us for a moment recall briefly the circumstances under which the Cabinet had to work. The Coalition which has placed them in power consists of men representing different schools of thought, different shades of interests and different communities also. When the Cabinet first came into existence they had to reconcile these divergent forces to forge a common policy for their programme. The task was not an easy one. The new Constitution that was ushered, vested greater powers on them than have been exercised hitherto, but an established form of Government that had ruled for nearly two centuries naturally could not change its shape and spirit in a single day. They had to accommodate themselves to new facts and new situations.

Bureaucracy, even if it did not exist in form, survived in spirit in many quarters. A greater franchise and consequently a larger electorate, conscious of their ultimate authority and conscious also that the Ministers were directly answerable to the Legislature, exercised definite control over the decisions of their representatives, and, what was more, a country where for nearly a quarter of a century agitations and incidents of all description had perturbed the political outlook of the

people, was the actual stage on which the Cabinet had to play their part. The Opposition was strong and inflexible. And their challenge is that the Cabinet is communal and reactionary.

Sir, side by side with legislative measures for the greatest good of the country must proceed the awakening of the political consciousness of the Muslims, if at all a common goal has to be attained. The Muslim League and the Congress have a common ideal before them. Bolder statesmen have rightly realised that unless the two communities stand shoulder to shoulder in the national struggle, nothing can be achieved worth the name. A distinguished member of this House in a public speech cited the example of the Chinese Muslims and how they fought for freedom. But we must not forget that the Muslims in China have never been a politically backward community and unlike India their non-Muslim brethren took great care that all were equal. It is for this reason that China stands, as one man, invincible, in this hour of peril to-day. In Bengal the conditions are far from satisfactory. It is history, and I need not dwell on the circumstances that gave a set back to the cause of Muslim progress; but taking facts as they are, no one can deny that for united and unfettered progress inequities and injustices must be removed and the Muslims must be given a new lease of life. And for this the Cabinet had a definite duty to perform. Even if it is accepted that patronage has been given in the matter of appointments or Muslims helped here and there, was it not in the interests of a greater cause that the weaker brethren had to be nourished? Apart from that, their quota to the provincial revenue cannot be ignored, specially when it is the contribution of a very poor community. Is it not fair then that their rights also must be equally respected? And the supreme right is the right of equal citizenship. They also want to live and serve their country.

Sir, the charge of a reactionary Government: What consecrated memories of the past arise in our mind when we hear it uttered! What is the correct picture? Over two thousand detenus and political prisoners have been already released. They are being released; the Tenancy Act is coming into force: The Executive is depending more and more on the good-will and co-operation of the people. Great strides have been made in the improvement of the general administration of the Judiciary, and every other department of the Government. Famine and flood relief to the extent of a crore is immediately available. Control of the machinery of education in order to serve the best educational interests of all the communities is under contemplation. The Public Service Commission stands as a sentinel for the impartial appointment of men. Retrenchment is being gradually effected and the young are replacing the old. Avenues are being explored for employment and youths are being absorbed. Police expenditure,

which met the exigencies of the situation created in the days gone by is bound to be curtailed in the natural course of things. Primary education has been introduced in some parts of Bengal. Gradually it will expand and ultimately no cess will be levied. That is the only practical method. Legislations in the best interests of the country have been introduced. Prohibition is also gaining ground, and whom is this prohibition for? To the Muslim population prohibition is religion itself. Progress is being made in every sphere. Rome was not built in a day. Finally, the Cabinet has never disobeyed the mandate of the party in power. Yet they are reactionary! Is it because they could not stage-manage their performances or because they do not possess a clamorous press to boom their achievements?

If in Bengal the Cabinet has not been able to achieve all that was desired of them, is it not true that in other provinces also the story is the same? Have the opposition no grievances there, minorities no complaints, and parties other than the Congress no cause for resentment? It may be that the United Front Party has a fine programme, but the working of the programme is a thing yet to be seen. If it is said that the Congress backing the programme is enough guarantee for its success, will it serve to create confidence and not suspicion in Muslim Bengal to-day? Has it been a tactical achievement on the part of the Congress to have the no-confidence motions tabled in the manner—yes, in the manner—that they have been? Mass contact for the purpose of bringing Muslims within the fold cannot but receive a set back if it is interpreted, as it will be, that the Congress are using disguised methods for holding ultimate power in their own hands. Sympathy will be alienated, conflict created and the paramount duty of lifting the backward communities to a uniform level of political efficiency will be relegated to the background. Programmes or paper, laws and statutes, count much less in the political regeneration of a country or a community than a single personality bestowed with vision, understanding and power. The tremendous popularity of the Chief Minister, his overwhelming influence over the masses and his name known practically in every hamlet in the remotest villages of Bengal are a much greater guarantee for the fulfilment of any political programme in which the interest of the masses has to be served now. With his back to the wall, with the Muslim masses despondent and desperate and the intelligentia suspicious of the Congress methods, Bengal can never be able to put up a united front nor can she play her legitimate part in the national struggle for Indian emancipation. The party may remain, but not the United Front! And that is as clear as the light of the day.

However much we may indulge in provincial politics, that there is an all-India point of view, a Muslim point of view cannot be overlooked. What will be the repercussions of this drama in the whole of

Muslim India and how far they will affect the national cause are yet in the dark and he would indeed be a bold prophet who could foresee all the consequences such repercussions will lead to. All progressive people realize that in India a compromise between the Hindus and Muslims is inevitable, but the methods and the conditions of that compromise are the points at issue. When the question of Federation is looming large in the horizon, when defence, a problem of supreme importance, has to be considered, when the prestige and position of India amongst the sister-nations of the world have got to be maintained, let us hope that not a single false step on the part of either community will mar the progress of that unity of thought and action without which nothing can be achieved.

Sir, in Bengal the European Group has been the target of much criticism——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is not the time up, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, this is his maiden speech and I expect he should not be disturbed.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: But you fixed a time-limit, Sir.

Khan Bahadur A. M. L. RAHMAN: Sir, in Bengal the European Group have been the target of much criticism. That they will hold the balance of power is a gift of the constitution. And that they will protect their own interests is nothing unnatural. If instead of levelling unjust criticism we could by a policy of liberal statesmanship win their confidence, I am sure that, as citizens, they will stand second to none in contributing their quota of labour to make this great country a land of peace, prosperity and contentment. And taking all things into account, is it not a blessing in disguise that their sober, steadying influence is there to control the fury of passions let loose on both sides at the slightest provocation?

The interests of the scheduled castes lie with us. They know it. And that they are a welcome partner is patent by the presence of the two Ministers taken from amongst a group of 25. That in itself is a solemn assurance of our appreciation and our sincerity, and given with the first advent of autonomy in the province.

My last words are to the younger men whom I see before me in this House, for they have to carry on the fight for the national cause. Difficult as our task is, we do not despair. Reverses there are, but reverses only stiffen our backs. The pendulum may be swinging backwards and forwards, but the hand of invisible time is perpetually marking its progress on the dial of our destiny. Out of this travail

of birth let us hope we shall emerge freer and stronger to fight for the evolutionary progress of our country. God in His perfect wisdom will guide us through perils and anxieties to something that is good for us and good for others. Let us all shake hands. Let peace be restored and let us once again march forward joyous in the triumph of victory over passions. Then and only then the dim lights of nationalism will broaden into boundless day.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I find that the present Ministry is not a fair representation of the people, and therefore the Anglo-Indian has not had a fair share in the administration of the country. As a mark of protest I have voted against the Government by joining the Opposition, not because I am disloyal to the British Government, for of this there can be no question, since I am proud of being a Britisher, and of my long service and War Medals. I am proud of the fact that my brother's name appears on the Cenotaph, and I am proud of the fact that another brother of mine, an Officer in the Indian Army, 2/119 Punjabis, did his bit on the Frontier and now enjoys a war pension.

I have awaited an opportunity to vindicate the rights of my community, and voice their just demands which have been neglected by the present Ministry, ever since its inception and have seized in the interest of my community the opportunity now offered me.

I demand the full quota of our appointments in the Administrative Services of the Province, the Police, the Medical, in fact all the services built up by our forebears for which we are trained and fully qualified. It must be remembered that we are definitely not a rural but emphatically an urban people and we are in great need of work.

There are three main religious groups in Bengal—Muslims, Hindus and Christians. Both the Muslims and the Hindus, the two major communities, were strongly represented in a Cabinet of eleven, namely, six Muslims and five Hindus, while the Christians were altogether overlooked. Surely merit should be the deciding factor in the allotment of these posts. Is there no merit to be found among the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians? (Applause.) It may be said that our numbers are small, totalling 30, consisting of 24 Europeans, 4 Anglo-Indians and 2 Indian Christians, but the same can be said of the Independent Scheduled Castes Hindus who out of a total of 26 seats were given 2 Ministerships and also of the Hindu Nationalist who out of 14 seats got 3.

It may further be said that Bengal, being given a form of Home Rule, the Europeans did not take office, and so the Christians lost weightage, but the Caste Hindus also lost weightage by the Congress refusing office, albeit they were given three portfolios as I have already

stated. I ask, is this fair and equitable? Surely the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq could have recommended one Anglo-Indian for a seat in the Cabinet. He would have established the principle of "Right" not "Might", remembering that in the long run, the worth of the state is the worth of the individuals composing it.

Taking the Anglo-Indians and the Domiciled Europeans as an Indian Community, I maintain that historically and morally, we have as great if not actually a greater claim, than any other Indian Community to a share in the administration of the country. The great position which our forefathers built up in Bengal, bringing with it security, peace, justice, transit, communication, public health, commerce, trade, industry and education has resulted in self-government, and to-day, when we enjoy the fruits of Provincial Autonomy, we find the Anglo-Indian excluded from the Administrative Services of the Province, although the British Parliament insisted on safeguards and protected our interests. I challenge, Sir, could any other community put up a stronger case for recognition? (Cheers from Opposition Benches.)

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I rise to give my whole-hearted support to the motion that has been moved by my friend Mr. Aftab Ali against the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister for Labour and Commerce (Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: and also for Local Self-Government and Public Health) and at present for Local Self-Government also.

Sir, the Ministry has stood exposed before the whole of Bengal nay the whole of India. Sir George Campbell day before yesterday charged us, men of the Proja Party, with deserting the cause of the Government. Therefore, Sir, it is my duty to explain the position of the party in relation to the cause of the Projas of Bengal. It is well known, Sir, that Mr. Fazlul Huq as the leader of the Krishak Proja Party formed this Government. Before forming this Government he ran election on a political issue and pledges were circulated throughout the length and breadth of this country, and a definite programme was sketched out calling upon the people of this province especially appealing to the peasants of this province to support the cause of the Krishak Proja Samiti, so that it may fight its battles on the floor of this House and do justice to the teeming millions of this country. It is well known what response it met.

Now, Sir, I find before me the combination of Mr. Fazlul Huq with Sir Nazimuddin, candidate on behalf of the League and protagonist of another party. Sir, everybody knows how that battle royal was fought on the fields of Patuakhali, and how our leader succeeded in winning that battle. Why Mr. Fazlul Huq denied the other day that it was not the Krishak Proja cause that came to his help but that it was by his own sheer strength that he won that battle? I cannot say.

Sir, whatever that might be, we claim that he stood out as the champion of the peasants' cause and he fought and won. He has now combined with the vested interests of this province, zemindars of this province and the capitalists of this province, and at present he has been championing the cause of the Muslim League.

Sir, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy as the Secretary of the Muslim League had been championing the cause of the Muslim League before the election. (Cries of "Hear", "Hear" from the Opposition benches.) Even to-day after assuming office, the honoured office, the responsible office of a Minister of this province, still, Sir, under his guidance I cannot say—but I find that posters have been circulated throughout the city under the names of the organisers of the Muslim League and Khilafat.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Calcutta.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I know that Calcutta is not outside Bengal; Calcutta is inside Bengal. Therefore, the responsibility of Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy becomes much more greater. Sir, it is well known that Mr. Suhrawardy, before he assumed office, was the President of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee. When he became one of the Ministers he gave up that office, and others have come to that office. What has happened? After his assumption of the office of Minister, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy and others, as has already been said on the floor of this House, have joined—a combination of vested interests with our leader, our erstwhile leader Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq,—and communalism has been spread throughout the country. (Laughter from Coalition benches.) The cry of Muslim Raj I could understand if out of the ten Ministers, eight had been Muslims and two Hindus. I would understand a predominating Muslim administration. A Ministry that is composed of five Hindus and five Muslims is termed a Muslim Ministry!

Here, I hold in my hand a leaflet written in Urdu stirring up the Muslims of Calcutta and the suburbs to join a procession and attend a meeting over which Gazi Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, otherwise known as the Sindhi gentleman, was to have presided. I welcome, Sir, public demonstrations. I believe in public demonstrations, but if on behalf of an organisation such feelings are aroused and lies are spread and absolutely false and incorrect things are spread to stir up communal feelings, I do not know what would be the result of that policy. I will read out one portion of this leaflet. It says that if this Ministry is finished and another ministry is established, reading of Quorun and Hadis will be stopped. (Cries of "Shame", "shame" from Opposition benches); and cow sacrifice as in the United Provinces will be stopped under section 144, Cr. P. C.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Not under section 364 but under section 144, Cr. P. C. (Laughter.)

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: It is said there that those who will resist will be put to jail. It goes on to say that as in the North Western Frontier Provinces the books that are published by Anjuman-i-Hemayat-ul-Islam under the orders of Gandhi have been stopped, so here also the books on Islamic literature will be stopped. (Cries of "Shame" "shame" from Opposition benches.)

I cannot understand this. Has the whole Government relinquished office? Who are the signatories, Sir?—Muhammad Mohsin Khan, Sadar, Calcutta Muslim League. Then there are other gentlemen—Raghib Ahsan and Shaiq Ahmed Osmani and Molla Jan Muhammad. All these gentlemen come from outside; not one of them is a Bengali. Does it not come under the purview of any section? (The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: What section?) Is it not the duty of the Hon'ble the Home Minister sitting there to look after Law and Order if these things are published and as a result there is a demonstration like the one you witnessed the other day? I remember a few months ago when a demonstration was made by the Congress *lathi* charges were made by the police on women also. (Cries of "Shame", "shame" from Opposition Benches.) The other day I saw with my own eyes a demonstration outside encircling the Legislative Assembly of which you, Sir, are the custodian. I do not know how only about 200 yards from the Government House a procession could be allowed to pass to attend a meeting in the Town Hall, where previously processions were dispersed. The Secretaries of the Khilafat Committee, the Secretaries of the Muslim League—all these persons were amongst the people. They were enjoying the situation, and the publication is made under their names. They should be prosecuted, hauled up before the Criminal Court and lodged safely into the jail. This finishes this part.

Now, coming to the speech of Sir George Campbell who called us deserters, I might say that we know that our European masters teach us many things. They teach us about administration, they teach us that if Hindus and Moslems should quarrel here and if the Muslims be naughty they want just to chide us and whip us and if the Hindus become a little bit turbulent, they should be stopped. But I never knew that Sir George Campbell, without knowing what happened during the last election and without knowing what the Premier did after the election, would charge us with being deserters. I say with all humility that Sir George Campbell will learn from me that it is not we who are deserters, it is they who are on the side of the Coalition. Even to-day I claim that of those who were returned on Krishak Praja Samity ticket it is we on this side of the House who are in the majority and not they who, although elected on that ticket have not hesitated to

break their pledges on many things. They said that the minimum price of jute should be Rs. 10; they said that they would not accept salary exceeding Rs. 1,000; they said they would introduce compulsory free primary education without taxation and they held out many such promises at the time of election. But what have they actually done. I say it is they who have deserted the cause and not we. We have stood firm and that is the reason why it is galling to them.

Mr. Siddiqi charged me and others at the Town Hall meeting with joining the Opposition because we did not get office. There is no question of personal aggrandisement. The reason is well known to everybody and I need not dilate on that. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq also dilated on this in so many meetings. The real facts are known to the public of Bengal.

I ask with all humility if any Government can be run in this fashion without any programme and without any policy. The only policy followed by the present Government is to order the police to assault our young men. It is quite well known that only the other day when a meeting was being held in a private house, and Mr. Humayun Kabir and Mr. Abul Mansur Ahmed who were going to attend that meeting were assaulted by hooligans. They are members of the Legislature—Mr. Kabir is a member of the Legislative Council and Mr. Abul Mansur Ahmed is an important member of the Samiti. The Chief Minister knew it and after the incident he and the Home Minister had been to the place of occurrence. To-day I learn that one of the workers of the Krishak Praja Office has been assaulted. An hour before I telephoned to the Taltolla police-station for sending help there. This is the way in which peace and order is being maintained by the present Government. There are Governments which are being run by the much-malinged Congress Ministry in other Provinces where Muslims are in a minority. There the members of the Legislature are not treated in this fashion—there they are not threatened that "unless you vote in this way, you will be killed" and so on. Therefore, Sir, I respectfully submit that this Cabinet has completely forfeited the confidence of the whole country and they should immediately relinquish office. This act of violence on the honourable members of the Legislature was done by their own men deliberately or they shirked their duty. Either way, the Ministry stands self-condemned. With these words, I wholeheartedly support the motion.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: Before I proceed with my main speech, I like to dispose of Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: He likes to dispose of both! (Laughter).

Mr. SPEAKER: I would just advise that after three long days, if members are still inclined to protract the proceedings, they might very well interrupt. Otherwise, I hope, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu should not interrupt him.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: No, Sir, I did not interrupt. But I hope the honourable member will not be so drastic as that.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: I will dispose of their speeches in a few sentences. Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee levelled an attack on the Hon'ble the Chief Minister for his following a policy of communalism, but, Sir, we know the activities of the high priest of communalism, Mr. Mookerjee, in the Calcutta University. Instead of bringing the charge of communalism against the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq, the same charge can more appropriately be brought against Mr. Mookerjee. Therefore his speech can be set aside.

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has charged the Government with inefficiency and handing the city over to hooliganism. May I ask the House whether it was not hooliganism when Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury had to come to the Assembly through the back door of his house because 300 or 400 volunteers belonging to the Congress camp assembled in front of his house and did not allow him to come out of his house? Was it not hooliganism? (Cries of "Shame, shame" from the Coalition Group and counter remarks from the Opposition Groups.)

Mr. SPEAKER: If you want, I am quite willing to carry on these proceedings for 10 days but if you want really that the proceedings should come to an end to-day, then I would appeal to both sides of the House to allow the speech to be finished. This is the last speech; after this, I will ask the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, to speak and then the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawrady will reply to the debate. I hope the effect of this will not be lost.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: Was it not an act of hooliganism when the house of Sir Hari Sankar Paul was surrounded by 300 or 400 Congress volunteers?

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: May I point out that there was no hooliganism in front of the house of Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury. There were only 3 or 4 satyagrahis who were in front of his house.

Mr. SIRENDRA KISHORE ROY CHOWDHURY: There were only several satyagrahis who were standing before my house and they did not use any violence. (Cries of "Withdraw, withdraw" from the Opposition Groups.)

Mr. SPEAKER: It is open to a member to make a statement and be corrected. It is, I think, not a personal defamation against a member and it will be very difficult for me to prevent him from saying what he would say. The only alternative is not to allow any speaker to be disturbed with a view to correct him. Let him finish.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee charges the "Star of India" with publishing articles inciting communalism and hooliganism. But, Sir, he conveniently forgets things which are being spread by the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" and the "Hindusthan Standard" during the last few days. Is it not communalism? The "Ananda Bazar Patrika" published with bold headlines "who are the Caste Hindus who voted against the no-confidence motion". May I ask the honourable member if it is not inciting communalism?

Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed speaks of his Krishak Praja Party. Was not Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed a party to the ratification of a pact that was arrived at between the Krishak Praja Party and the Moslem League on the 12th February and does he not know of all the items that were mentioned in that pact and that many of them have already been fulfilled? Personally speaking, I would not have taken part in this debate but for the tirade of personal vendetta indulged in by Mr. Abdul Hakeem of Khulna against Mr. Fazlul Huq. Mr. Hakeem has exhausted all the abusive words that the English vocabulary could supply him with in pouring the phial of his wrath on the sacred head of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the undisputed leader of Bengal.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, how long will his manuscript eloquence continue?

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope Dr. Sanyal, you will allow him to finish his speech. This is not the only written speech—written speeches have also been read on the other side. If you interrupt him in this way it will become very difficult for me to control the debate.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I beg to submit that it is fully approved Parliamentary manners to ask a question while somebody is reading out something.

Mr. SPEAKER: May be, but I will not allow that. I hope interruptions will not be made on any side.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: Now to resume. Sir, by his attitude, Mr. Hakeem has made himself compare favourably with that notorious man of Arabia who defiled the sacred Kaba by an act of nuisance. Mr. Hakeem has not been able, by his unfounded and malicious allegations, to lower Mr. Huq in the estimation of the people but he has only demeaned himself to the lowest depth of degradation. Only a month ago, while speaking at a meeting, Mr. Hakeem declared that he was prepared to shed his life-blood for the sake of Mr. Fazlul Huq, and he declared at the top of his voice that Mr. Fazlul Huq remained and would remain the uncrowned King of Bengal. Is he the same Mr. Abdul Hakeem, who is crying down Mr. Fazlul Huq, the idol of Muslim Bengal? Where is the magic wand that has transformed him overnight? Is it some glaring hope or is it some dazzling expectation or is it some disappointment that has brought about this change? I stop here; let the world judge.

I welcome this "No-confidence Motion" as it will silence for all times the voice of calumny and vituperation, so often indulged in by the vindictive press and malicious speakers. By this motion, Mr. Huq will once again have the unique opportunity of vindicating his position as the beloved leader of Bengal and the House will also have the privilege of reiterating and rehabilitating their confidence in their trusted Chief. Mr. Fazlul Huq by his service to the country, by his boldness and fearlessness, sacrifices, love and labour and the unflinching fight for the freedom of the country, has won a permanent place in the heart of the people, and a solid throne in the country from which it is absolutely impossible to dislodge him.

Why should Mr. Fazlul Huq be made to abdicate—because he has given to the tenants of Bengal, the Magna Charta of their rights and privileges in their lands, because he has given them the Charter of freedom which was by a foul conspiracy and mean combination denied to them in 1928 in which the Congress was a party. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It is a foul lie.) But still Mr. Fazlul Huq must go, because a pretender never is in want of a plea. A child reading the Æsop's Fables knows it. Students of history know that British Imperialism when intending to take possession of Burma was not in want of a plea. They wanted King Theebaw to abdicate because Theebaw was in the habit of drinking. Congress oligarchy wants Mr. Fazlul Huq to abdicate because he has given to the people things which have not been contemplated even by the Congress provinces of India. What a shame that when even the message of the Governor was read over to the House on the 8th, a man of the position of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose did not hesitate to attack and vilify Mr. Fazlul Huq, in the vilest manner at the Town Hall. Mr. Fazlul Huq has achieved what Biswanath Das or Srikrishna Sinha could not think of; still they are gods and Mr. Fazlul Huq is a villain, because he is a bold and a fighting Mussalman. Mr. Fazlul Huq's head must be

brought on a charger because he has suspended the certificate Act, which was an engine of oppression on the unwary masses of Bengal. It has been said that Mr. Fazlul Huq's Government has done nothing to initiate measures for the prohibition of liquor. Does a staunch and true follower of the Prophet who by a single dictum of his created a river of wine in the streets of Medina, need he be told that wine is prohibited? Do they not know that this is not a Muslim government but a Government of His Majesty King George VI of England where people of different nationalities live and thrive? Still the Huq Ministry has started a campaign of prohibition which no other province of India could undertake excepting Madras in a limited area. It is said that the price of jute has not been fixed; do they not realise in their heart of hearts that a knotty problem like this cannot be easily solved without detriment to the interest of the tiller of the soil? Still Government have appointed a Committee to go into this matter and evolve a solution.

Have the jute growing countries of Assam and Bihar and Orissa been able to do anything in this direction? Still they are patriots because there is a Congress Government and Mr. Fazlul Huq is a helot because he is a spirited Mussalman! It is said that Mr. Fazlul Huq has not been able to introduce free primary education in Bengal. Has any other province of India done it? Have your ideal governments of those provinces touched even the fringe of that question? Mr. Fazlul Huq has started it. Mr. Fazlul Huq has not got the magic wand in his hand to turn the land of Bengal into the land of fleece and gold. Imposition of cess is not a matter of choice but of necessity. It has not been thrust on the people by Mr. Fazlul Huq but the people demanded it and they have got it.

Mr. Shaheed Suhrawrady must be condemned because there has been less of labour strikes in Bengal than in U. P. and Bombay; and because there has been no firing on the mob——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: 13th minute!

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, you must know that it is my business and privilege to keep count of the length of time a member speaks and you need not remind the Chair of this.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am not interjecting; I am only noting the time.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, any man of sense and intelligence could understand the meaning of this interjection. So, what is the use of doing that?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I was only keeping time, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not your business to do that, and I hope you will no more put forth any simliar interjection.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: Sir Nazimuddin must be torpedoed because he has released 3000 detenus in course of six months. Remember the speeches of Mr. Massani, Satyamurti and Mr. M. N. Roy in the All-India Congress Committee at Calcutta. Did they not say "it is no good condemning Fazlul Huq or Sir Sekander Hayat when your own Congress governments have not been able to release even the handful of detenus and the political prisoners in their own lands"?

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker must be put on the scaffold because he has no parallel in the whole of India in the matter of Finance.

Mr. Fazlul Huq must be scotched and killed because he is virtuous to a fault, because he is the man on whose ticket and name most of the opposition Muslim members owe their existence in this House to-day. It is no wonder that the hand that feeds must be bitten.

Now, coming to my honourable and most respected friend Mr. Tamizuddin Khan I will only say this much that Mr. Tamizuddin Khan seems to be an apostle of democracy, but is he following the salutary provision of democratic laws? Was he not returned on League ticket, helped and financed by the League?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: 14th minute!

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, you are again interjecting about the "time".

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I was remarking this only privately, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you must not say that within my hearing. It is my business to see that a speaker does not exceed the time limit, and it is none of your business to shout it out in a manner as if to remind me of it. If you do so again I shall be under the painful necessity of requesting the Leader of the Opposition to help me to see that you keep silent.

Maulvi ABDUL BARI: Is it honourable, is it honest for him now to be a turncoat and go against the mandate of the League? Herein he must take a lesson from the Congress, resign and come back. Unfortunately for the Muslims, they have learnt only to imbibe the evil side of a thing without caring to take the good out of it.

The irony of the whole thing is that people who have lost the confidence of their constituency come to move motions of co-confidence against the Cabinet.

(At this stage the speaker having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Mr. UPENDRA NATH BARMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the course of Monday's debate Sir George Campbell had deplored that members who had originally supported the Government have now crossed the floor of the House. We do not for a moment conceive that Sir George Campbell wanted to adumbrate a principle of "once a supporter, always a supporter"; but on behalf of the members of the Indepedent Scheduled Castes party, I owe it to the House to make our position clear, to dispel any mistaken idea that might have been associated with his remarks.

At the time of the formation of the Ministry we associated ourselves with it in the hope that the Huq Ministry will build up a reputation of good Government, bring in communal concord, impartially and equitably distribute public emoluments taking it up as a duty to level up and ameliorate the condition of the neglected and backward masses of the province. We placed high hopes on the demonstrative speeches of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and got satisfied to see him installed as the Chief Minister of Bengal.

But long 15 months after the assumption of office by the Huq Ministry, it is our considered opinion that the Huq Ministry has completely failed to discharge its duties in a straightforward manner. So far as the reputation of good government is concerned, the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq's public utterances, times without number, have been carried to the extreme, and misfits with his responsibility as the Chief Minister of this province. After the lapse of long 15 months we find that no actual beneficial work worth mentioning had been undertaken in right earnest to ameliorate the condition of the masses or benefit them either educationally, economically, or physically. We find that Bengal is in the same position to-day in which it was 15 months ago. Our Ministers are simple proxies of the erstwhile bureaucrats and have acquired the self-same mentality and air themselves in the same fashion. In the language of the late Bepin Chandra Pal, by the boon of the so-called Provincial Autonomy we have got brown bureaucrats in the place of white bureaucrats.

As regards policy, they are reciting the Kindergarter prepared by their predecessors. Sir, during the 160 years of rule by the white bureaucrats, the country has been impoverished day by day; the peasantry of Bengal are now in a dying condition. If the popular Ministers want to say after the lapse of these 15 months that they cannot do anything overnight, they ought to resign and make room for others to try the same. But they are clinching to their high-salaried jobs by resorting to methods and tactics which are most reprehensible. They have not hesitated to take resort to the fair name of Islam, obviously to perpetuate their continuance. Is it not extremely shameful

to proclaim this Ministry as a Muslim Raj, when the Legislature is composed of so many classes and interests and when the Chief Minister's brothers-in-faith realise in their heart of hearts that they are nothing but a subject race? If this sort of nuisance continues, Sir, the dream of communal concord will vanish and this will bring on a serious repurcussion within the province. This play by the self-seeks in death to the nation's consciousness, and the more we allow the game, the more we injure the cause of the country.

As regards the Scheduled Castes, they have not yet got their oft-promised quota even in the lower grade of the public services and have been left entirely at the mercy of the appointing authorities. A sum of Rs. 5 lakhs had been promised, but no scheme has as yet been attempted or drawn up though the Chief Minister privately promised to do so before the current session. A few of the poor students of the scheduled castes ventured to get themselves admitted in schools and colleges with the the false hope of getting Government help, but their circumstances allow them no longer to continue.

Sir, let it be stated definitely that we bear no personal malice against any one, neither are we prepared to do perpetual homage to any one in the Cabinet. We have in our perspective the duty as we read it and the working of the Cabinet as a whole. Let it be said that it is one thing to love Mr. Fazlul Huq the man, but it is an entirely different thing to condemn the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister. In the name of the constituency we represent and on behalf of the people of Bengal, we charge this Cabinet—and that charge stands unchallenged—that to only maintain the high salaried position, the Ministers have not taken up an impartial deal in the matter of appointment to public services, and by resorting to nepotism they have demoralised the conscience of this House. We deem it very oppressive to tolerate this sort of affairs continuing any longer.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, these along with other considerations have forced us to form an Independent Group, with the hope that henceforth we may conscientiously judge every measure on its merits and dissociate ourselves from anything anti-national, or vindictively detrimental to the cause of any class, community, or interest. We are ready to follow the "give and take" policy and place before the judgment of this House the dictum of "greatest good of the greatest number". We had not been nor are we committed to any other party to follow their dictates, unless and until we are convinced of the justness of the measure and we hope the House will not misjudge our action. Before I conclude, there is one point which I must emphasise on behalf of our party. It has been demonstrated beyond doubt that the present Government does not enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Indian members of the House; and what is most significant is that at least two-thirds of the members

belonging to the scheduled castes have definitely expressed their want of confidence in the present Cabinet. Members like ourselves, who are newcomers in the field of politics, would humbly ask the Great British representatives in this House, the redoubtable champions of democratic form of Government, and I ask particularly their leader, to state the principle on which they justify their support for a Ministry which claims to represent different groups in the Legislature but actually do not enjoy their confidence. If the Ministers, and I specially refer to these two who represent the scheduled castes, have any self-respect left to them, they would have resigned immediately rather than brought upon themselves shame and humiliation by sticking to their posts, depending upon the support of the European Group.

Even at this late hour, I voice the united opinion of our party, and I ask our Ministers, who no longer enjoy the party's confidence, to resign forthwith and save the honour and prestige of the scheduled castes of Bengal.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, in rising to support the no-confidence motion brought by my honourable friend Mr. Aftab Ali, I am doing so with a sense of grave responsibility. The subject-matter of the debate which has been going on for the last three days is new to this Assembly, this Assembly which has been constituted under the Government of India Act of 1935. But it is not new to this province; it is not new in the history of parliamentary institutions. In the old Legislative Council such motions were brought time and again, but at that time the members of the European Group in the old Council used to describe such an attempt as a game of ministry-baiting, as a game of ministry-breaking. Such epithets cannot be used to-day, because when the Opposition decided to bring forward these motions of no-confidence, they decided that if the time came, they would be prepared to accept the responsibilities of office in order to give effect to their constructive programme in this province.

I shall, Sir, first deal with a few observations made by the Leader of the European Group. The first observation he made, with which I would like to deal, was that his party might find it difficult to trust a new Ministry which might have to include members who had severed their allegiance from the party under whose wings they had entered the Assembly. I do not suggest for one moment that Sir George Campbell deliberately made an incorrect statement, but I do say that he has been misinformed or misinstructed. I wish when he made that statement he had remembered the position in April, 1937. At the last election the Proja Party won about 45 seats approximately, —I am not sure of the exact figure. Twenty-four out of those 45 still remain in the Proja Party——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bose, I do not like to interrupt you, but there are many who are anxious to hear you. I am not able to catch you. Would it be convenient for you to come to the microphone?

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I think, Sir, if I may be permitted, I can go near you. I do not want the microphone. If I can face the House it will be all right.

The first observation of the Leader of the European Group with which I desire to deal was this. He said his party might find it difficult to trust a new Ministry which might have to include members who had severed their allegiance from the party under whose wings they had entered the Assembly. I wish Sir George Campbell had remembered the state of things in April, 1937. I wish he had thrown his memory back and tried to ascertain who were the persons who had severed their allegiance from the party under whose wings they have entered the Assembly. Sir, it is a fact, it is an indisputable fact that the Proja Party at the last elections won about 45 seats in the Assembly. It is also an indisputable fact that 24 members of that party still remain members of the Proja Party, and that 21 out of them severed their allegiance from the party under whose wings they entered the Assembly and joined the League Party. These are the facts. So if Sir George Campbell desires to adopt his own test for the purpose of considering with which party he should co-operate, I would ask him on his own statement to co-operate with the party which has not severed its allegiance from the party under whose wings it had entered this Assembly. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition benches.)

The next statement of Sir George Campbell which I desire to deal with was this. He complimented the Ministers on their handling of Finance and of the Department of Law and Order. May I, Sir, take the Department of Law and Order first? Members of the Assembly will please make a mental contrast between the position taken by Government in July, 1937, and the position taken by the same Government in August, 1938. They will no doubt remember that the Bengal Government issued a press note in these terms on the 29th of July, 1937:—

"As it is of the utmost importance that the passage of the members of the Legislature to the Legislative Chamber should not be hindered in any way, instructions have been issued to the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to keep all the approaches to the Legislative Assembly building free and open."

The writer of that press communique also drew his inspiration from May's *Parliamentary Practice*, which sets out the provisions of a Statute. But little did he know that May's *Parliamentary Practice* set out something which was contained in the Statute, namely, that

within one mile of the Houses of Parliament no procession should be allowed. Sir, I would have congratulated the Government if they had been consistent. We all know, Sir, that last year unarmed processionists, who did not carry a *lathi*, who did not carry even a stick, were not allowed to pass the Strand Road and come near the High Court, though the procession took place at about 6 p.m., and the acting President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was actually in the procession. But, two days ago, yesterday and the day before, and to-day also processionists carrying big *lathis*, carrying flags, have been allowed to come all round this Assembly Chamber, without the slightest let or hindrance. As I have said, I would have congratulated the Ministry if they had taken up the same attitude which they took in July, 1937. Of course, speaking from the Congress point of view, we are against prohibition of demonstrations, and particularly of demonstrations which are peaceful in nature, particularly of demonstrations which are made by processionists who are unarmed and non-violent. But the processionists of to-day, the processionists of yesterday, the processionists of the day before were not unarmed. Still they were allowed to go all round the Assembly Chamber and remain there for four or five hours in succession shouting slogans such as "Down with the Congress", "Down with the rebels", "Down with the traitors", and so on and so forth

Now, Sir, what is the other matter which illustrates the difference in treatment? The other matter is that in connection with the procession of July, 1937, the processionists were not allowed to carry their flags, they were ordered to lower their flags and they were ordered to proceed to the meeting at the Town Hall in batches of two or three —utmost three. Why was differential treatment accorded by the Hon'ble the Home Minister during the last three days? Is there any explanation at all?

Now, Sir, that is not all. My honourable friend Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee referred to certain leaflets and my honourable friend Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed also read from one Urdu leaflet. But may I read before this House just the headlines of the evening paper of Calcutta, with which the Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin was closely connected and with which I believe he is still connected as a big share-holder? The headlines are these: "Henchmen and Catspaws of Congress Beware!" "Who Dares Be a Traitor Knave?" A reputable paper, a respectable paper as they call it. Then it goes on to say "Bengal Prepares for the Political Funeral of Betrayers". "Monday will be the Opposition's 'Shriving Day'." This is the paper with which the Hon'ble the Home Minister was closely connected until recently and with which I believe—he will contradict me if I am wrong—he is still connected as an important share-holder. But during the last few

days, in spite of the assault on a very respectable member of the Upper House, in spite of the unprovoked assault on a very respectable citizen of Mymensingh, we have not uptil now heard of any steps being taken by the Hon'ble the Home Minister for Law and Order. May I put a question in this connection to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and the Hon'ble the Home Minister? May I ask them in all seriousness—do they contemplate starting prosecutions against the papers which have been inflaming communal passions? Do they intend to start prosecutions against the authors of these leaflets?

Sir, I have in my hand a bundle of leaflets, one in Urdu which I cannot read, but I believe it is the one which Mr. Shamsuddin read. And will you believe me, Sir, when I say that they contain these words: "The enemies have tabled no-confidence motions against the ten Ministers." Who are the enemies, may I ask the Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin and the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy? Then it says: "It is the duty of the Mussalmans of Calcutta and the 24-Parganas to pull down the intriguers against the Muslim prestige. If the intriguers succeed, they will stop the teaching of Quoran and Hadis declaring it as communal." Surely, Bengal will not have a Ministry without at least 50 per cent. of Muslim members, possibly more, in the Cabinet. It says further, "They will stop cow sacrifice as in the United Provinces under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code." A deliberate lie I call it. Then it says, "Those who will resist will be put to jail. The books of Anjuman-i-Himayet-ul-Islam will be cancelled from the syllabus under the orders of Gandhi." Can members conceive of a grosser libel against Mahatma Gandhi—a man who can hardly be described as belonging to any particular religion, a man who can be called the most pious Christian in the world, a man who can be called the most pious Mussalman in the world, a man who can be called the most pious Hindu in the world? (Cries of "No", "No" from the Coalition benches.)

Then, Sir, the leaflet does not end there. The incitement continues "Get up, unite, and establish the Muslim faith in India and save your descendants from being slaves of slaves." Sardars, mazdurs and sympathisers are requested to observe a successful *hartal* and proceed to the meeting at Town Hall which will be presided over by Ghazi Abdur Rahman Siddiqi (laughter from the Opposition benches). I do not know how my friend Mr. Siddiqi has suddenly become a Ghazi. That is a title which, I believe, is conferred on particular persons who have done particular acts. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Which he has.)

After what I have read in this House I hope the honourable the Leader of the European Group will pause at least for one moment before he comes forward again to lavish compliments on the Department of Law and Order.

Now, Sir, dealing with his compliment to the Department of Finance, may I ask him in all humility, when he was congratulating the Finance Department, was he thinking in terms of national reconstruction, or was he merely thinking of a balanced budget? We know it is possible to have balanced budgets year after year by starving the nation-building departments. We know that actually a wind-fall has come to us out of the jute tax. It is easy enough to have a balanced budget if you do not allot sufficient money to the nation-building departments. May I ask him to tell us whether, when he was showering his compliments on the Finance Department he bestowed any thought on the nation-building departments? Did he consider the nature and amount of the doles that were given to the nation-building departments? Did he remember for the moment that the doles were merely petty doles which could not be of any help in any scheme of national reconstruction?

Then, Sir, coming to the remaining Ministers he damned them with faint praise. I will not read his speech again and take up the time of this House by repeating what he said. His faint praise I may describe as a euphemism for condemnation. He said they were influenced by communal reasons and that they attempted to rush through business in the House; that their reception of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission was not always satisfactory, and lastly he said their departmental administration left much to be desired. Possibly, I would have used stronger language in describing the activities or want of activity of those departments, but I shall accept for the moment Sir George's description of the activities of these departments. That is sufficient condemnation for the purposes of the Opposition.

Now, Sir in this connection I will ask members of this House to consider the instances of nepotism which were narrated in this House by my honourable friend Mr. Abdul Hakeem, and which were further supplemented by Mr. Upendra Nath Barman. I would ask members of this House to consider them seriously and before they record their votes to come to the conclusion that even if one-tenth of such allegations is true, this Ministry is unworthy of claiming and retaining the confidence of this House. I am indebted to a certain friend of mine in the Proja Party for a copy of those instances of nepotism. I took some care to go into the matter last night. I found for myself that a large portion of that list was correct. I expect—and I hope the Hon'ble the Chief Minister will satisfy my expectation—that he will reply categorically to the twenty-five heads of charges of nepotism which were narrated before this House by Mr. Abdul Hakeem and Mr. Upendra Nath Barman jointly.

Sir, it is difficult, it is painful to describe the sins of omission and commission of the first Ministry in Bengal.

I have neither the time nor the inclination to go into details, but I shall submit to the members of this House a short summary of the position. Their sins of omission and commission in the matter of a policy can be summed up in three words—"want of policy." Their activities in communal matters can be summed up in three words—"raising communal passion." When one of my friends who preceded me—I mean Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee—was replying to the cry that has been raised that Islam is in danger there was some protest from my friends to my right. But do they not know that a responsible Minister of the present Government gave expression to that cry? Sir, if a Hindu were to raise the cry that Hinduism was in danger because a few appointments were going to a few Muslims and to the members of scheduled castes, I would hang down my head in shame: Hinduism cannot be in danger if 50, 60 or 70 per cent of the appointments were given to the Muslims or to the members of the scheduled castes. Similarly, if a Muslim member were to raise a cry that Islam was in danger—Islam which extended its influence from Western Europe to Eastern Asia—I would also hang down my head in shame. Can there be the least doubt that some members of the present Ministry have not raised their little finger against the writers of poisonous leaflets such as those which have been placed before the House and have deliberately not taken any action against the authors of articles such as have appeared during the last few days in an evening paper? If they have not taken any action, can they possibly escape the charge that they are responsible for bringing about an atmosphere of violence in the city?

Now, Sir, there was another observation of Sir George Campbell to which I would like to refer in passing. He has described the Congress as a great Hindu party. I would not mind his laying the flattering unction to his soul that the Congress was a Hindu Party. But we all know the facts. Those of us who have been to the countryside know the response the Congress gets from the Muslim rank and file. I myself toured throughout Bengal more than once and I have never come across the slightest expression of communal passion in the countryside. What exists of that nature exists in the district towns and in the city of Calcutta unfortunately. What exists of that nature exists mostly in the minds of the educated or so-called educated people.

Sir, I started my speech by saying that the Opposition have put forward this motions of no-confidence before the House, because they are prepared to take upon themselves the responsibilities of office. That makes it necessary on my part to give you some idea of our programme. I have noticed a comment in a leading paper of this city three days ago that the Opposition has not disclosed their programme. May I within the short time at my disposal give you and the House

some idea of the programme which the Opposition will seek to give effect to if they are called upon by this House and by the authority which appoints, to take up the burden of office.

Sir, we are out for communal peace and harmony: we are out for reform of secondary and higher education: we are out for thorough reform of education and improvement of vocational, technical and technological system of education in the province: we are out for the increase of irrigational facilities in this province: we stand for earmarking a substantial portion of the revenue obtained from the jute tax for the improvement of the moral and material welfare of the agricultural population and labour. We are out for raising up the prices of agricultural produce: we are out for the introduction of free compulsory primary education without taxation on cultivators: we stand for the recovery of rent in the same manner as civil suits and not by ejectment: we stand for recruitment to public services by competitive examinations, subject to this that we shall allow restrictive competition among members of the scheduled castes and Muslim communities: we stand for the levelling up of all the communities which are at present educationally and economically backward by the provision of special educational facilities for them. As we have a clear idea of the programme before us, I may add that we are in favour of a special grant of Rs. 10 lakhs for Muslim education and a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs at least for the education of the scheduled castes. We are out for the reduction of high salaries and allowances and the cost of administration of Government, and I may tell the House in this connection that if members of the Opposition are called upon to accept office, they shall accept salaries of Rs. 500 a month plus suitable allowance (cheers from the Opposition Benches). In this connection may I dispose of some false propaganda which has been started? The propaganda is that the Congress is out to break this Ministry because it cannot tolerate a Muslim Chief Minister. May I say in clear and definite terms that so far as the Congress Assembly Party is concerned, they will stand up for the appointment of a Muslim member of this House as Chief Minister (cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches). I was told last year that the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq had told his Hindu colleagues that he was in favour of a Muslim Chief Minister and a Hindu Chief Minister alternately. I do not know if this is correct. The Chief Minister can tell me if my information is correct or not. But so far as the Opposition are concerned, they shall certainly call upon the combined Muslim groups who form the Opposition to elect their leader and they will agree to a Muslim being appointed Chief Minister. We of the Congress Assembly Party are not seekers of office; we do not hanker after office. We are prepared to call upon the combined Muslim groups to elect their leader and to say that such leader should be appointed the Chief Minister: we are prepared to say that the scheduled castes should also

contribute their quota to the Ministry; that the nationalist Hindu Party should contribute their quota to the Ministry, and we also shall recognise the rights of the Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians to contribute their quota to the Ministry.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It is only an afterthought.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: My friend Mr. Suhrawardy may say, it is an afterthought; let him consider it so; but I am sure his observation will make no impression so far as the rest of the House is concerned. Again I say in very clear and definite terms that we shall not seek office. We shall wait for the order of this House to serve, and should this House demand of the members of the Congress Assembly Party to take office and serve the province, we shall bow to that decision. We shall not seek office, and, mark my words,—I say this deliberately—the Congress Assembly Party is not going to accept office, unless this House demands their services. They will no doubt help and co-operate with the members of the party which may be called the Coalition Party of the future. They will support the Ministry that may be formed by the Opposition in carrying out the constructive programme which I have enunciated; but unless and until the House demands their services, they will not accept office. They will take active part and interest in the formation and working of such a Ministry and help them in carrying out their constructive work. They will make every endeavour to see that the constructive work which I have enunciated is carried through. Coming to the rest of the programme, we are out for the improvement of the lot of industrial workers. We stand for the eight hours day for industrial workers, without reduction of pay: we are pledged to give them a living wage. We stand for relief from the burden of rural debt and arrears of rent and revenue. We stand for the repeal of all repressive laws and for the release of all political prisoners, interned, and detenus.

We are out for a substantial reduction in rent and revenue and for fixity of tenure. We stand for the abolition of all feudal dues and levies. We say that forced labour and demands other than rent should be made illegal. And, lastly, we stand for a radical change in the antiquated land tenure and revenue system of this province. We would like to impress upon the landlords of the province that they are trustees for their tenants and it is only as trustees that they should conduct themselves.

Now, Sir, in conclusion, may I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, may I appeal from Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister, to Mr.

Fazlul Huq the man, may I challenge him to say whether in his opinion this is not the best workable programme that can possibly be devised for this province? Sir, I stood by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq in his days of "troubles, in his days of distress, in his days of sorrow. I have not had the good fortune of standing by him in his days of glory as the Chief Minister of Bengal! But I may assure him that I bear towards him personally the same feelings as I did in the past. And it is only because of the "achievements" and the want of achievements of his Ministry, it is because of the want of any policy during the last 16 months, it is because of the atmosphere of violence they have created, it is because instances of nepotism have been brought to my notice,—instances which cannot possibly be challenged as far as my information goes—it is because of all these that, to-day, with the little strength that I possess, I support this motion of no-confidence against the Hon'ble Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, after the perfervid oratory of the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition, marked by exciting and stirring passages and by a certain degree of bullying and hectoring, after the hopes that have been raised in the hearts of the Muslim Members in the Opposition of becoming ministers, after the hopes raised in the hearts of the members of other parties who, the Leader of the Opposition hopes, will vote with him, I think any remarks of mine in refutation of the baseless and false charges which have been made by the mover of the motion and his supporters, any remarks of mine in justification of my labour policy, which to-day stands out pre-eminently as the finest and the most successful policy in the whole of India, will fall flat on the Assembly. Can I hope, Sir, to wean from his allegiance to the Opposition my well-beloved and dear friend, Mr. Debi Prasad Khaitan, who has been my greatest protagonist in my labour policy, but who intends to vote and who has actually voted with the Opposition? Can I hope to get away from the Opposition those members who have a sneaking desire to step into our shoes and hope to become Ministers of the Crown or at least Secretaries, for every one of them has been promised one or other of the posts? Can I hope to get away from the Opposition those persons who would never have been returned except with our support (Cries of 'question, question' from the Congress Benches) or the support of the Chief Minister? and yet have betrayed us and gone over to the other side? While the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition was speaking and calling upon Sir George Campbell to vote with that party which constitutes the majority of the parent party, I counted the faces of some of the gentlemen opposite who have seceded from the party to which they originally owed allegiance, and I counted at least eleven persons who have signed pledges and have broken them, persons who

have taken money and have not abided by the mandate of the party by which they were returned. I need not recount their names. I do not think, Sir, it is necessary for me to humiliate them further. Their hearts must tell them who they are, who have acted in this manner. Can I ever hope to take away from that side the pledge-breakers, or persons who have been grovelling at our feet to become Public Prosecutors and who have been writing to us letters only recently vowing allegiance, but who, within the last month have suddenly found that we have betrayed the interests of the country? Can I, Sir, hope to get away—

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: On a point of order, Sir. Is it Parliamentary to speak of members 'grovelling at the feet of Ministers'?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Why not? Can I hope, Sir, as I was saying, to wean away from their side labour leaders exploiting the labourers and feeding and battening on the subscriptions and earnings of these poor men? Merely by pointing out before the House the success of my policy or the falsity of the charges brought against me, can I hope to get away from that side members of that party who have stooped to the shadiest of methods to gain their ends, members who have been responsible for seduction and blandishments which may make Mahatma Gandhi hang his head in shame or fast unto death for the sins of his followers.

Sir, it is no use my making any reasoned speech, because I know that we have all come here with our minds made up, but I would refer just to one or two items in regard to my policy and also make some remarks generally, in regard to the Ministry.

Mr. SPEAKER: Since you have just come to that part, I think I can well adjourn the House for prayer interval at this moment and thereafter you can finish your speech. The House now stands adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am glad, Sir, that the honourable the Leader of the Opposition has come back. I would

like to remove some misapprehensions in his mind as to what we think is the attitude of the Congress Party. He says that we are labouring under the misapprehension that Congressmen did not want a Muslim Chief Minister; he does us a grievous wrong. We know that he cannot do without a Muslim Chief Minister, otherwise he would not get the support of those gentlemen directly opposite who are still fighting amongst themselves as to who should be their leader but who have not yet been able to make up their minds as to who should take up the position of the Chief Minister. It is not that the Congress Party desires to displace a Moslem Chief Minister; what it wants is to displace a courageous and independent Chief Minister and have a Moslem Chief Minister who will be a mere puppet of their party, a Moslem Chief Minister who will support the policy of the Congress, and will bow to, and rise up and sit down at the dictates of the Congress. The Leader of the Opposition has read out a programme. While I was listening to it, I almost thought that it had been taken word for word from the Coalition programme to which an objection is now being made to-day, but to which Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed was a signatory. The same Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed who to-day charges some of us, though not all, with taking more than Rs. 1,000 a month, himself signed a document in which he agreed that the Minister should receive Rs. 3,000 a month. That same Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed of the Krishak Praja Party says that the policy of the Krishak Praja Party which he has the honour to lead, was to receive Rs. 1,000 a month. This programme which was read out by the honourable the Leader of the Opposition only differs from our programme in minor additions, and those minor additions are wholly impracticable. He knows that he can make these promises on the floor of this House, but he also knows that he will never be able to implement them. One wonderful thing in that programme is that the honourable the Leader of the Opposition stated that he believed in the realisation of rent not through the certificate procedure but as an ordinary civil debt, and that was going to be his programme. The honourable the Leader of the Opposition does not know that in khasmahal lands and in lands under the direct control of Government the certificate procedure has been abolished—(No, no, —from the Opposition Benches)—it has certainly been suspended *sine die*. The honourable the Leader of the Opposition does not know that in the Bengal Tenancy Act the right is going to be abolished, and that very soon. And that brings me to another point. He does not want the Bengal Tenancy Act to be laid to the credit of this Ministry. Can there be any doubt that the date for staging this motion of no-confidence has been deliberately chosen before the assent could be given? Can there be any doubt that after the assent to the Bengal Tenancy Act is given, there will be such a wave of loyalty in the country that no one in the Opposition will be able to withstand the demand that support should be given to us? And hence this no-confidence motion has been brought before the assent has been given so

that, if successful, we shall go out and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and his puppet Chief Minister may come in and claim that they were responsible for the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

Now, Sir, when we assumed office, there was no Labour Department at all. I am told that I have assumed great responsibilities inasmuch as I took charge of the Labour portfolio. That Labour Department has been created by me and the responsibility, which to-day rests on my shoulder, is the responsibility which I have voluntarily undertaken. It is indeed a great compliment to me that the motion of no-confidence against me has been moved by a person who knows nothing or very little about labour matters, who knows still less about commerce, public health, medical, local self-government, electricity or any of these departments which I have the honour to administer. He moves before the House a motion of no-confidence and charges me with having imposed Sections 144 and 107 on Labour leaders, not knowing that I have nothing whatsoever to do with these sections, nor have I ever been consulted in that connection. He says this although he knows perfectly well that his statement is false, for when he went up to Darjeeling and placed the matter before me, it was for the first time that I came to know that he had been charged in a case under Section 107 with several others. I do not want to go into the merits of the case which is *sub judice*. But surely you will not hold me responsible for something of which I had not the least knowledge. They charge me for imposing Section 4 of the Public Security Act on certain persons; honourable members know and should know, and that gentleman Mr. Zaman knows, although the other day he deliberately said that I was responsible for it, that as soon as I came to know about it, the Hon'ble the Home Minister and I tried our level best to see that the order was withdrawn and the persons who were staying in Calcutta were repatriated. But now he charges me with having imposed that Section. I do not desire, unless the Labour leaders by their own act deserve the various penalties which are imposed upon them, unless they go about preaching violence and class hatred, that legitimate labour organisations should in any way be interfered with. But if they go about doing so, the risk will be of their own creation. Now, Sir, it has been stated,—no, not stated,—my opponents have jeered at me, they have cast gibes at me, calling me the Champion of Islam. Let me tell them, Sir, that if I was but one hundredth portion worthy of that title, I would make, to deserve it, the supremest sacrifices. To be the Champion of Islam should be the glory of everyone. (Cheers from the Coalition Benches.) But I know that I am not worthy of it and those jeers and gibes will recoil on those who dare to utter them. What do they know about Islam? What do they know about the Ministry which we are supporting and of which I have the honour to be a member? If they call it a Muslim Ministry, believe me, it is not because we want to establish a Muslim raj, because we want to impose

Muslim domination upon the country. It only means this that we desire that the country should be ruled according to Islamic traditions, according to justice, equity and fair play, raising up the underdog, the person who has hitherto been denied all rights. We want to give those rights to him, be he a Hindu, be he a Muslim, be he a Christian or Schedule caste. As for the Scheduled caste members, Sir, those with whom we have been always co-operating, and between whom and us there has been no gulf at any time; but who to-day for no rhyme or reason—apparent—have gone over to the other side, their conduct has been a source of enigma, if not of disappointment to us. We have in all our undertakings included them, in all our hopes and fears, in all our measures to raise the depressed portion of our community. The Scheduled castes have been with us all along, but to-day unfortunately as a result of seductions, and blandishments, and bribery openly repeated on the floor of this House by the members of the Opposition that they are prepared to give more Ministerships, and also Secretaryships, to those who are in the opposition with them, they have gone to the other side. Peace be with them! A time will come when I hope they will see the error of their ways. A time will come when they will regret their action. If we talk about a Muslim Ministry, it is purely with that idea. Can anybody point that we have ever done any injustice to a Hindu? It was stated in general terms, by somebody, by Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerji or by the Leader of the Opposition, I forget who,—that we have been unjust on several occasions to the Hindus. I repudiate the charge. Right from the beginning we have included Hindus with us and have safeguarded their rights. That demonstration which was held outside was composed of Hindus as well, at least to the extent of one-fourth. You want to make us communal. You want to say that we are communal. We have no desire to be communal at all. All the various mills that were closed, and all the various factories whose workers came and joined this demonstration included both Muslims and Hindus. I am proud of it that both Hindus and Muslims support this Ministry in spite of all the attempts on the part of the Opposition, and in spite of all attempts on the part of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to denounce us as a communal Ministry. We refuse to be deviated from the path which we have set out before us, and we shall whatever be the consequences continue to deal out even-handed justice. It is you—it is not you, Sir, Mr. Speaker (laughter), who in spite of ourselves continue to call us communal.

Now, Sir, we have recognized all genuine labour unions,—by genuine labour unions I mean not those labour unions sponsored by those gentlemen who, whenever they get up to speak on their hind legs, cannot but talk about racial and class warfare. I have sheaves of telegrams, hundreds of telegrams supporting my labour policy and supporting me in particular. I will refer only to one which I have just received. Can anyone deny that the Labour Federation of Kulti

and Hirapur is a genuine Labour Federation? In spite of all the attempts of Congress at Kulti and Hirapur to try and break the labour union, the labour union has not been broken. I will just read the one telegram sent to me to-day by the President of the Labour Federation and received by me:—

"15,000 workmen"—let me tell you that of this 15,000 workmen a very large proportion is Hindus—"of Burnpur and Kulti oppose no-confidence motion against Labour Minister. Understanding leading to resumption of work at Hirapur-Kulti reached solely through his strenuous efforts."

Now you knew nothing at all about this, as you know nothing of what I am doing for the labourers. Had it been done in any other province there would have headlines 14 days before and headlines three weeks after. But here so far as we are concerned we continue to do our work. We do our work silently, and the effect of the work will be shown in due course.

If I were to tell you that within the short time that I have taken upon myself the duties of the Local Self-Government and Public Health I have drafted a comprehensive water supply policy and could have introduced a Bill in this session if it had not been for you all—shall I turn away your wrath. That comprehensive water supply policy which I have drafted will, I hope, solve the water supply problem of Bengal in two or three years' time if the District Boards take up this matter. Shall I tell you that I have drafted a scheme which I propose consulting with the members of the District Board for giving medical aid to rural areas? What is the use of saying all these? If I say these things that will not deviate you from the path of opposition that you have adopted.

One thing more. Somebody said that we had not given rural credit. Suppose we tell you that we have got a scheme for rural credit which will run into crores of rupees, which to-day the Cabinet is considering, would that make any difference to you?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We won't believe that. Is that a Cabinet secret?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: As to what the amount of money is may be a Cabinet secret.

Now, Sir, what have I not done? I have got very little time, and the catalogue is very large. I think Mr. Walker has referred to some of the matters which we are discussing, the various subjects that we propose taking up for the amelioration of conditions in the labour world still remain a matter between us until I can give a final shape to them.

I have known in other places mere questionnaires have been set forth as something having been achieved for the labourers. To-day owing to our joint efforts—and I say our joint efforts, because I believe that if you want industrial peace, it can only be by the joint efforts of labour and capital and not by high-sounding talks and by sowing distrust—to-day by our joint efforts we have been able to secure very important concessions for labourers which hitherto been denied to them; recognition of trade unions on certain principles—not those trade unions whose members have spent Rs. 45,000 in litigation, not trade unions of that variety, but genuine trade unions working for the benefit of labour, recognition of trade unions of that type, better housing, more water, better sanitary conditions, removal of bribery and corruption. All these things have come into the labour world, and we hope that they will stay there, and we shall go on getting more and more advantages for the labourers from day to day.

Mr. SPEAKER: How long more are you going to speak? I am sorry I cannot give you more than one minute.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I think, Sir, as it is not possible for me to exhaust the material at my disposal within one minute I shall content myself with what I have said and sit down.

Mr. AFTAB ALI: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. May I explain why I went to Darjeeling?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that the Hon'ble Minister has made any insinuation against you. He only mentioned the fact that you went to Darjeeling.

Mr. AFTAB ALI: Sir, I went to Darjeeling because Sir Nazimuddin told me——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not a point of personal explanation. Order, order.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I will not imitate my young friend, Mr. Abdul Hakeem, in his language of calumny and invectives, nor shall I waste the time of the House by trying to prove that during our term of office we have not been guilty of nepotism.

Sir, my short reply to the charges that have been made by Mr. Abdul Hakeem and supplemented this afternoon by Mr. UpendraNath Burman is this:—the whole catalogue is a catalogue of atrocious lies from beginning till end (Cries of "shame," "shame," from the Coalition Group).

Sir, I say solemnly with all the responsibility that has devolved upon me as Chief Minister that I have not during my term of office as Chief Minister or as Education Minister made any appointments of any relation of mine, near or distant, to any post, anywhere in any department of the government service (Cries of "hear," "hear" from the Coalition Benches).

There are certain appointments to which reference has been made by Mr. Abdul Hakeem and this afternoon Mr. Upendra Nath Barman was trying to read out so hurriedly that I could not catch the names of the incumbents or of the posts, but I may tell them that all these appointments are not made by the Education Minister, but by the Director of Public Instruction, assisted by a Committee, and I know absolutely nothing of these appointments. I have absolutely nothing to do with these appointments. I call upon Mr. Abdul Hakeem and Mr. Upendra Nath Barman to come out of this House, make these accusations against me publicly and give me an opportunity of testing the truth of these accusations in a court of law.

For the present, Sir, I will appeal to the Leader of the European Group to read the speeches. I will meet him, and I will ask him to formulate the charges of nepotism that have been levelled against me. If one single charge is established I will request the European Group to withhold their assent and support to this ministry ("Hear," "hear" from the Coalition Benches). All these atrocious lies have been piled up and hurled as an avalanche upon the ministry in order to create an impression in this House and to carry on a foul propaganda against us. People who know nothing about the rules or practices of the department have been accusing the Education Minister of things which have been done by the Director of Public Instruction or the Secretary. I think that after the speeches are reported and after I have an opportunity of reading the exact charges against me I will apply to you to take the matter to the Committee of Privileges in order to take evidence and find out how far these accusations are justified. If they are not justified I would crave, even as a simple member of this Assembly, that the honour and prestige of this House should be vindicated, and those who have brought false charges should be punished.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: I accept it.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Mr. Abdul Hakeem, you will live in history (Laughter from the Coalition Benches).

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister kindly let us know whether he denies that these appointments were made by him, or—

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I know absolutely nothing about these appointments; they were not made by me. As to the appointment of any relation of mine I have asked the Leader of the European Group to enquire and he will find that these appointments were not made by me; and the appointing authority was the Director of Public Instruction. The Director of Public Instruction will bear with me when I say that I never hinted that any post should be given to any relation of mine, nor did the Committee of Selection know that any of these persons was nearly or distantly related to me. (MR. ABDUL HAKEEM: Who was at the back of these appointments?).

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Abdul Hakeem, I warn you that it will be my painful duty if you interrupt any more to take steps in the matter.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Now, Sir, I come to Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. I realise he bears in his mind the burden of a great sorrow. Only the other day he has been dislodged from his high pedestal as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

Mr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I was not an applicant for the post.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, is the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in order in making a personal reflection on a member of this House? Does it not amount to a personal reflection to say that because Mr. Mookerjee has been dislodged from his office he bears a grudge against the Chief Minister?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, if it is taken like that I will withdraw the expression, and I express my regret (MR. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Most shameful).

Sir, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has said that this ministry has no programme. Within the short time at my disposal I will prove that not only have we a programme but one of the most progressive programmes in India which compares more favourably than the programme of any other province, and we have tried our level best to implement this programme much more than any other province has been able to do.

Sir, after the elections were over, the Proja Party and the Muslim League entered into Coalition on the basis of the revised programme. There was much in common between the programmes of the Proja Party and the League Party, and in order to arrive at a working basis the Proja Party and the League Party made out a revised programme acceptable to both, and this was accepted by the combined parties as the programme of the Coalition Party.

Now, I wish to read very briefly the various items in this programme and also point out to the House how much has been achieved with reference to all these various items.

The first item in the programme was this: "In view of the fact that the Land Revenue system and the Land Laws of Bengal have arrested the economic growth and development of the province and have adversely affected the national outlook of the people a committee of enquiry be immediately appointed to devise ways and means, etc., etc."

Now we have decided to appoint a committee and why? Because, we want to make the enquiry more comprehensive than could be done by a mere committee. But most certainly it cannot be said that we have taken no action, so far as the first item of the programme is concerned.

Then, Sir, the second item was: "Amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act with a view to reducing rent by fixing a maximum for each class of land; to repeal the provision relating to enhancement of rent in the interests of the tiller of the soil; to recognise right of mutation of names and division of holdings without fees; to annul the landlords' right of pre-emption; to abolish Nazar selami; to provide criminal remedy for all exactions, e.g., abwabs, etc.; to take such other steps as may be necessary for the relief of the peasant."

I need hardly point out to the House that the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, which I hope will be passed into law at least within one week of the day when it receives the assent of the Upper House with some slight modifications and those amendments passed into law will give to the raiyat rights far more than detailed here.

For instance, it will give to the raiyat the right of getting back his land in usufructuary mortgage after a lapse of 15 years at the most; it will give to the raiyat the right of getting back his diluvinted land by payment of 4 years' rent if it appears within 20 years. It will also give to the raiyat the right of suspension of the certificate procedure in Government Khasmahal lands and even in the Court of Wards lands which are not even hinted at here; so on and so forth. I do not want to waste the time of the House over this. We have done so much. On the 12th August, the Bill will come up before the Upper House and after the necessary amendments has been made with regard to section 52, it will be recommended that the amendment made by the Lower House in the amending Bill be accepted and if it is accepted, I declare publicly that so far as I know the Bill will receive assent of His Excellency the Governor within one week of the day it is passed in the Upper House. This is what we have done.

Now let us see what has been done in the most advanced and progressive Congress Provinces. In the United Provinces, they have not

been able to draft a Bill. They have been fumbling here and there but have not as yet been able to make out what the amending Bill is likely to be.

The Bihar Assembly, out of the 46 sections of the Tenancy Bill have gone through only 12 and the latest report is that although they have made some progress, they cannot make further progress because at every step, they have to lick the feet of the landlords and Zemindars and have to come to an understanding with them before they can give any relief to the agriculturists and raiyats.

In Bombay, one of the most progressive of the Provinces, we get this information from the United Press telegram of 11-7-1938—this is a statement published by the Secretary of the Congress Group in the Bombay Assembly. It is clear that in the coming session of the Assembly some tenancy legislation will be introduced. The measure which is going to be introduced there provides for security of tenure and other privileges which, in our opinion, are neither too many nor too wide. The statement concludes by referring to other measures of debt relief which are sure to solve to a great extent the problem of rural indebtedness. What is the nature of the rights that are going to be conferred on the raiyats subject to certain conditions? What are these? It is necessary that the tenant should pay arrears of rent preceding 1938 in full before he can take advantage of the reformed legislation and the arrears of rent are to be paid within a period of 4 years for his being entitled to this right. These drastic provisions do not find place in our Bill. The position, therefore, is that whereas in a week hence our Tenancy Amendment Bill, which confers further rights on the tillers of the soil and which gives far more than we had promised, will be passed into an Act, the other Provinces are not yet able to make up their minds as to what to do. One Province has only just taken up the question and the other Provinces are depending on futurity. And all these Congress Provinces declare with bright headlines that attempts are being made for the amelioration of the condition of the teeming millions and so forth. We are indeed a reactionary Province and they are progressive!

Now, Sir, what we have done is this. By the amendment of the Public Demands Recovery Act we have mitigated to a great extent the rigours of the certificate procedure. So far as devising ways and means for giving relief to the cultivators from the crushing burden of indebtedness is concerned, it is only in Madras that some attempts have been made but other Provinces have practically made no attempt whatsoever. What have we done? When we took office, we found that there was an Act, namely, the Agricultural Debtors' Act, on the statute book, and we took advantage of that Act at once in order to give relief to the raiyat from his burden of indebtedness. It was decided in June, 1937, that more Boards should be established and our programme was

to establish on an average 150 Boards a month. And by March, 1938, there were more than 2,800 ordinary Boards and 80 Special Boards. At the present moment, we have well over 3,500 ordinary Boards and 125 Special Boards, and the House will be surprised to hear that the amount of debt which has come up before these Boards, within one year and four months we have been in office, has been over 40 lakhs of which about 10 lakhs have been settled for a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs. In many cases the cultivators are paying in instalments varying from 5 to 10 years. I stand here and say that not a single province in India has been able to achieve even one-tenth of what we have done here. If this can be achieved by any other Ministry within this short period of time, I personally will resign my seat as a Minister and walk out of this House with an easy conscience firmly convinced that I have not been able to do anything for the agriculturists. It is no use simply by saying that we have no programme. Mere vilification and propaganda will not do. Come down to facts, judge us by what we have done and what others have done.

Now, Sir, with regard to the amendment of the Co-operative Societies Act, everybody knows that the amending Bill has gone to the Select Committee and if the Select Committee find that drastic changes are necessary, we will withdraw that Bill and introduce another Bill in consonance with public opinion.

With regard to the introduction of free and compulsory primary education without taxation of the poor, I have explained to the House the policy of the Government times without number. I shall only content myself by saying that I am myself not in favour of imposing any cess, but I have found on calculation that what the cultivator is called upon to pay under the Act is really much less than he is now paying as fees for the education of his children.

As regards the reduction of the cost of administration, there have already been two Retrenchment Committees—one in 1922 and the other in 1932 and on a survey of salaries now prevailing in the various services, it has been found that the rates of salary here are much lower than those prevailing in many other provinces.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: It is no use contradicting facts.

With regard to the control of the price of jute through limitation of production, Marketing Boards and other suitable measures, that is a matter which is receiving the serious consideration of Government. As regards provision of marketing facilities, we have prepared a scheme and we are going to launch that scheme in the near future in order to

provide marketing facilities to the raiyats. We have taken preliminary steps in connection with the establishment of regulated markets of late and action would be taken very soon.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: When?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: So far as the resuscitation of the dead and dying rivers and khals through local manual labour is concerned, as I have not got the time to deal with it fully, I will read out what has been done in this direction. We have actually employed voluntary local labour in excavating khals and dying rivers at many places, e.g., excavation of the Hodge Khal—10 miles long—in the Chandpur subdivision was done by local labour; re-excavation of a khal in the Magura subdivision in the Jessore district 5 miles in length, re-excavation of two khals in the Jhenidah subdivision in the same district, and re-excavation of khals in Howrah district, totalling in length over 15 miles and all these by local labour. As a matter of fact, the total mileage of khals or dead rivers excavated by local manual labour comes to about 60 miles and this system is still in progress.

As regards the repeal of the Tobacco Tax, that has been done.

As regards public health and sanitation, Government are doing everything that is possible to improve the condition.

As regards the repeal of repressive laws and release of political prisoners and detenus consistent with public safety, what the Bengal Government have achieved is really something which I challenge any other Government to show under these difficult circumstances.

Regarding the relief of unemployment, we have already appointed Mr. N. Dass, a brilliant member of the Indian Civil Service, who is acquainted with the various complexities of the problem. He has already set up a programme of work in this direction.

As regards the amendment of the Calcutta University Act and the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal, it is now under the consideration of the Government. Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee knows the difficulties.

The amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act could not be taken up till very recently and the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government is devoting his attention to the matter.

This is the programme of work that we are following. May I know, Sir, what other Provinces have done?

It has been said that we have forfeited the confidence of the majority of the Indian members of the House and it is also said that the majority of the Praja Party have gone over to the Opposition. I say that this last statement is absolutely untrue. The list of members that

was submitted to His Excellency the Governor after the election by the Secretary of the Krishak Praja Samity as having been returned on the Krishak Praja ticket contained something like 58 or 59 members, and if 23 of these members have joined the Opposition, the majority is still on the ministerial side. It is not a question of majority or minority. The Krishak Praja members have gone over to the other side and they were followed by the members of the group known as the Tamizuddin Group many of whom came on the Praja ticket and some on the Muslim League ticket. We have heard from Mr. Upendra Nath Barman and some other gentlemen why they have gone over to the other side. At the close of my speech that reminds me, Sir, of the story of a fallen woman who had strayed away from the path of virtue. She was asked why she had given up her life as a good housewife for a life of ill-fame. She replied that her husband was not sufficiently religious-minded and that the ladies of the household did not attend Church regularly. Now, Sir, the Praja members have left me apparently because I am not sufficiently Praja-minded and the Scheduled Castes have left me because, forsooth, just as the ladies did not attend the Church I have not been able to do anything for them.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: So why have you been huging them to your bosom all these days?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: If they have any conscience, well, I ask them to put their hands on their hearts and say if anywhere in India, that is to say, in any of the other provinces in India, anything more has been done for them than what we have done for them here or what we are going to do for them here. Sir, immediately they passed a resolution for a 5 lakhs grant for scheduled caste education. I made a provision in our supplementary budget accordingly. And in order to carry on schemes for the development of secondary education I have given them a special officer. Even at the present moment, while they are so loudly accusing me my friend Mr. Bottomley, the Director of Public Instruction, and Dr. Jenkins, the Special Officer, are exploring ways and means how to help you, how to assist you, how to give you the help, the assistance and the co-operation you require in the prosecution of your studies.

Now, Sir, it is very easy for the Opposition to make promises; but, all promises like promises made at election time have a tendency to get broken and there is no guarantee that promises made now will not be similarly broken when the time comes for their fulfilment.

Then, Sir, it has been said that we have not got the support of a majority of the Indian members. I will not raise any acrimonious discussion or spoil the temper of the House by insinuating anything; but I know, Sir, the ways and means that were adopted in order to wean

away all those members who had been voting with us and to make them go over to the Opposition. I hope I shall be more careful in the future, and when the time comes I shall be able to show to these erring brothers of ours how they ought to come back to our fold, and we shall also be able to show that we still command an Indian majority. But Sir, whether the majority is Indian or otherwise, I say that no shame attaches to us if at the present moment we carry a majority composed of Indians and Europeans only. We are members of a Government governing a country inhabited not by Hindus or Muhammadans alone, but by Europeans and Anglo-Indians as well, and every one has got a say as regards the Ministry functioning at the present moment, and of which we are members. It is better that we should depend upon the Europeans publicly rather than that we should denounce against them in public and then go down at their feet begging for votes in private in order to break this present Ministry. Now, Sir, I say that I command not merely a majority but an overwhelming majority in the country. If this is doubted, let my friends who have gone over to the other side resign their seats. I will undertake to set up a candidate in each of these constituencies, and if I am defeated in the majority of the constituencies, I will resign my seat and walk out of the Council Chamber. (Cheers from the Coalition Benches). Mr. Shamsuddin has said that I have lost the confidence of the people. Well, Sir, I had been to Hajiganj only the other day and more than a lakh of people came to see me not on account of leaflets, but only because they heard that I was coming. Some of our European friends were also with us on that occasion and they have seen and they can judge for themselves whether we have lost the confidence of the people. Then again, we have won all the bye-elections and if there is any other bye-election going to take place by reason of anybody's resigning his seat here, I am prepared to contest that seat on behalf of the Coalition Party and I shall see who comes forward to defeat the candidate that I set up.

As regards the leaflets, to tell the truth, Sir, I know nothing about them; in fact, I have not seen any one of them. But, Sir, I can assure the House that if on reading them I find that any one of them really transgresses the bounds of law, then I promise to take immediate and proper action, because I am not going to be a party to this sort of hooliganism, lawlessness and violence (Interruptions). Well, Sir, as I have said I know nothing about these pamphlets and leaflets, so it is no use interrupting me for I am not provoking the other side, but I am always at the service of the House.

Sir, my friend Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu has complained that the only achievement of Government in the field of education has been the contemplated Purdah College. Well, Sir, my friend does not know that this college is going to be a more extensive and a bigger affair than I once thought. But, Sir, that is not the only thing that we have done.

The policy of my Ministry is to give a high school for girls to every district headquarters and a middle school to every subdivisional headquarters; and we are pursuing that policy vigorously, and very soon you will find the whole country full of these high schools and middle schools.

Sir, before I conclude let me express my most gratifying appreciation of the manner in which the members of the Coalition Party have stood by us in the face of the greatest of allurements and temptations, and in the face of all the persecutions to which we have been subjected. Let me also thank the members of the Hindu Nationalist Group for the manner in which they have so loyally come forward to support our Ministry. (MR. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: And the minorities also.) Yes, no doubt the minorities also. Let me give every one this assurance that as long as we are in power it is our intention to introduce an era of peace and goodwill in the country and bring about Swaraj, not the Swaraj that dwells in the cloud-land of fancy, but real, substantial Swaraj, which is based on an appreciation of the just rights and claims of all the parties concerned, that is, of all classes of people (BABU NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY AND OTHERS: Real Swaraj indeed and for all classes!) Why are you interrupting me? We did not say anything when I was being abused from that side. As regards the Anglo-Indian community, my dear friends, I have always told you that you are welcome to a share with me not merely in the problems which affect your community but also to help me in matters of administration of this country, of which you are as much one of the people as members of any other community. Tell me only in what way I can be of help and service to you. If I am found wanting, you can withhold your support. I can only say to the charge of inciting violence that so far as Bengal is concerned, this is the only one province which has been free from communal riots. In Bihar, we are having communal riots in almost every week; in the United Provinces, communal rioting has been a constant feature; in Bombay, we have had that; but Bengal has been singularly free from it. In Bihar, there have been fights between landlords and tenants and only the other day, a landlord was beaten mercilessly to death. But here in Bengal, the peasants belonging to the Moslem and Scheduled Caste communities have remained quiet, and no one can point to a single instance in which the masses have gone out of hands as in some of the other provinces.

Now, Sir, I wish I had some more time but I know, Sir, the more delay I make, the more I tire the patience of the members of the House at this late hour. I shall not therefore detain the House any longer. I have recounted to them the work that we have done so far. As regards the charge of nepotism, I have denied it categorically, and I have said, that I am prepared to abide by the decision of the Leader of the European group who is unattached and unbiased and who can look at things from

an absolutely impartial point of view. And if he finds that I have been guilty of nepotism, of even the slightest suspicion of nepotism, I will resign and ask the members of the European group and others to withhold their support to the Ministry. These charges have been made by people prejudiced against me. As I have already stated, I have much more to say, but I have not got sufficient time to do so, and so I shall now conclude. Sir, I have said these things, because I feel that justice is not being done to me. I would appeal to my friend, Mr. Bose, to come and tell me what is it that he wants me to do. He says he is not going to accept office. I should be very glad to sit with him and the members of the European group round the table, and see what is the programme he wants us to follow. If I fail in my duty after that, then will be the time for them to condemn us. But please give us respite at least for another year and give us an opportunity to do what we are able to do. We have not had peaceful time at all. You do not give us opportunity to work and you then take us to task. Even then, we have done far more than what the other provinces have done, placed in the circumstances as we have so long been. Sir, I feel that the public should know how sorely we have been trying to remove the obstacles and impediments that have been thrown in our way, and I wish to testify that while these blows are being delivered in the name of freedom and liberty, they really strike at the very root of the welfare of those inarticulate masses whose interests must always remain uppermost in our mind as the most sacred trust reposed in us.

The motion that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Minister for Commerce and Labour and Public Health and Local Self-Government, moved by Mr. Aftab Ali, was then put and lost.

The following motions were called, but not moved:—

Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Nawab K. Habibullah Bahadur, of Dacca, the Minister for Agriculture and Industries.

Dr. H. C. Mukherji to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, the Minister for Revenue.

Mr. J. N. Gupta to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the Minister for Finance.

Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut, the Minister for Forests and Excise.

Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruf Hossain, Khan Bahadur, the Minister for Judicial and Legislative Departments.

Mr. M. Shamsuddin Ahmed to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E., the Minister for Home Affairs.

Mr. Abdul Hakeem to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Minister for Education.

Mr. PROMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, Minister in charge of Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department.

Sir, in support of my motion I beg to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Hon'ble Minister has been entrusted with a portfolio which is of vital importance to the people of Bengal. The present Ministry has been in power for the last 15 or 16 months, a period which should have enabled the Minister in question to study the economic condition of the rural people, I mean the poor peasantry of Bengal. The co-operative movement has been started in Bengal some 35 years ago under the patronage of the Government, but during this long time the Government have practically done nothing except starting a few credit societies here and there whose only business is to lend money to the people and realise the same with interest. Sir, may I ask whether the Hon'ble Minister ever took the trouble to study personally or through any Committee appointed, the conditions under which these societies have been working, though lakhs of rupees are being spent every year for the maintenance of this department? The Government have confined their activities and resources to one form of co-operation, namely, the establishment of banks, the function of which could very well be managed by the ordinary loan offices.

I visited many foreign countries and had the opportunity of studying the principle under which the co-operative societies in those countries work. I have seen there that co-operative system has been introduced in every walk of life, namely, in education, agriculture, crop marketing, etc. I do not know what the Government have done to infuse this spirit of co-operation into the poor people of Bengal, so that they might develop the sense of self-reliance and mutual help in improving their lot.

Is it not a fact that the agriculturists of our country produce all sorts of crops; but owing to the non-existence of any co-operative societies, they generally do not get proper price of their products? They are, on the other hand, being exploited by the middlemen and the millowners and other capitalists? Has the Hon'ble Minister done anything to secure through co-operative societies the real price of their products?

Then, Sir, may I know what steps have been taken by the Government to educate the people in the matter of co-operation and bring home to them its salutory effect on a wider scale? The officers that have been appointed have hardly any knowledge or special training in this branch. Nor did the Hon'ble Minister take any trouble to appoint any Committee consisting of experts and specialists to investigate into the co-operative system prevalent in the province. The Hon'ble Minister depends entirely on the Registrar to control all the activities of the department. The result is that the co-operative movement without making further progress is being retarded.

Presently the Hon'ble Minister has brought a Bill, viz., The Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill which, if passed into law will strengthen the hands of the Registrar and his subordinates to such an extent that the real spirit of the movement will be suppressed. The effect of the Bill will be that the people of Bengal will cease to take any interest in this movement.

Sir, my next charge against this Hon'ble Minister is with regard to the rural indebtedness. The purpose of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act was to diminish the heavy burden of unproductive debt on the poor peasants. And to give effect to it, some Debt Settlement Boards have been established in some parts of the districts of Bengal. But what has been the result of the establishment of such boards? The local mahajans have been very much discouraged to give any credit to the agriculturists, and, as a result, the cultivation is suffering and famine breaks out almost every year. To cope with the situation, the Government have started a few mortgage banks whose activities are of no practical use to the people.

In the very constitution of these boards, members of the money-lending classes are taken and the result is that justice is not at all done to the poor debtors. It is being reported in every daily paper that the members of these boards accept illegal gratification and put the debtors to immense trouble. The Government have not appointed any Committee to investigate into these matters, and the corruption is increasing day by day. The ill-feeling for this reason is growing more and more between the creditors and the debtors.

Lastly, Sir, I beg to draw attention of the House to the fact that the Hon'ble Minister represents the Scheduled Castes of Bengal, in the Cabinet. When the Prime Minister took him in the Cabinet the Scheduled Castes had this high hope that he by his activities would be able to influence the Cabinet to adopt measures for their amelioration. But may I ask, Sir, if the Hon'ble Minister along with the other Scheduled Caste Minister has been able to formulate any scheme on which the uplift works can be carried on? His position in the Cabinet has only been utilised in providing his family members, friends and

relatives with honours and lucrative jobs under Government. It may be recalled that during the last session of the Assembly I drew the attention of the House by a supplementary question put to the Hon'ble Minister that he appointed his near relatives to the posts of auditors and inspectors and special officers of the Debt Settlement Board. It is needless to say that in appointing these men he overlooked efficiency of the candidates and took recourse to favouritism and nepotism. The House will not be astonished to hear that his relatives such as elder brother, younger brothers, brothers-in-law, brother's son-in-law, cousin's son-in-law and others-in-law have been provided with jobs through his influence as a Minister. The Hon'ble Minister is a representative of the Scheduled Castes, and as such he is supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with their social, economical and educational disabilities. But may I know, sir, whether he ever cared to live among the poor Scheduled Castes in villages to study their condition? He has been brought up and educated in Calcutta and I can very emphatically say he has nothing to do with the Scheduled Castes. In his election manifesto he declared that he would use his level best to do what he could for the poor peasants of Bengal. May I know whether the Hon'ble Minister has got a single katta of land in the whole province of Bengal the incidence of which is governed by the Bengal Tenancy Act? He cannot be expected to have any sympathy with the poor tenants who suffer terribly at the hands of the zamindars. The Hon'ble Minister never took the trouble to see what the Ministers in other provinces were doing for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes. Neither could he make any demand for the Scheduled Castes. For these reasons, not only the Scheduled Castes of Bengal but also the other communities have no confidence in the Hon'ble Minister and sooner he is removed from the Treasury Bench, the better for the Scheduled Castes and the Province of Bengal.

I do hope the House will accept my motion.

Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with a very mixed feeling that I am constrained to take part in the motion for no-confidence in the Cabinet with the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq at its helm. I had a soft corner in my mind for this compatriot of mine, hailing as I do from the same district. He had aroused great hopes and great expectations when he acclaimed himself as the champion of the depressed and down-trodden peasants of Bengal. He had proclaimed from sky-scrapper his virtuous intention of liquidating an iniquitous and unjust land system waging relentless crusades against the landlords and zemindars. But today I stand disillusioned. He has treated his election promises like love pledges without the slightest intention of translating them into practice. To our eternal shame and disgrace he has found his most congenial allies in the dream of Bengal

aristocracy whose heads he had only a few months before demanded on the charger. To-day his last mask has fallen off and we find him in strange surroundings, amid strange bed fellows. I for one can never be a party to the unholy compact like this. The Cabinet is a medley of interests uniting only on the common ground of exploitation of the poor.

I must make it perfectly clear that the Ministry as a whole are constitutionally and temperamentally incapable of identifying themselves with the sorrows and sufferings of the inarticulate masses of our country. Their relations with the toiling masses are the relations of the top-dog and the under-dog, of the expropriator and the expropriated, of the exploiter and the exploited.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I rise to a point of order, Sir. Is the hon'ble member proposing a vote of no-confidence against the Chief Minister or against any other particular Minister, or is it a general discussion?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No, no: remember it is joint responsibility.

Mr. SPEAKER: All I say for the time being is, let the five minutes pass.

Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MAKDAL: What is there in common between confirmed hedonists and poor hungry and famished peasants? How far consistently with their self interest can they alleviate the miseries of the hewers of wood and drawers of water? Do they not constitute two different nations in a single city—the rich and the poor? Do they not live in two different worlds? Is there anything common between Saville Row and an Indian village with its mud-huts, between Bond Street and an Indian slum? If the history of the human society is the history of class struggle, the class to which the Ministers belong can only be interested in eliminating the toiling proletariat and the peasant poor. Is it not against common sense, reason and sanity that these Ministers, in these days of intensification of the class struggle, can be loyal to the true interest of the millions of the town and the countryside? If we imagine such a contingency even in our fondest dreams, we are living in a dust storm of delusions!

Sir, the Ministry has not to its credit any legislative enactment of far-reaching importance. It has not introduced either total or partial prohibition; on the contrary the consumption of alcohol has increased to a considerable extent.

They have dangled before the public the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act, but they have allowed it to be relegated into a paper measure

without lifting their little finger in securing the assent of the Governor —thus dealing a death blow to the hopes and aspirations of the Bengal peasants. The appointment of a Revenue Commission has blocked the course of further Tenancy Legislation.

Introduction of free primary education is further off than ever. The vital problem of supply of rural credit that demands immediate solution has not yet drawn the attention of the Cabinet.

The Ministry has completely failed to reduce the cost of administration. They seem to be interested only in question of their high emoluments and the grand establishments of their itinerary rather than in ameliorating the conditions of the people.

It is needless for me to advert the numerous instances of downright nepotism and rank favouritism which have taken place under the Huq regime. I must not fail to refer to Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick whose avowed and frank nepotism has to-day alienated the majority of the Scheduled Caste members from the Ministry.

As for the Hon'ble Labour Minister, he has done next to nothing when labour unrest is insistently demanding a solution.

(The member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am extremely grateful to my hon'ble friend Mr. Promatha Ranjan Thakur for having brought this motion of no-confidence against me. It is in the fitness of things that he should have thought of doing so for the relationship-in-law that he bears to one of the members of my family; and it is perhaps for that reason that he has been actuated to say so many things. I will not say a word about the departmental activities of the subjects under my control for the time being, viz., the Co-operative Department and the Rural Indebtedness Department of the Government of Bengal, as I content myself by saying that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and our leader has already told the House about the activities of both the departments. I am extremely sorry, and I sympathise with my hon'ble friend, for his ignorance of the activities of these two departments placed under my charge. At the time of the last two Budget Sessions I explained my policy to the House and I told clearly as to the line that I wanted to take in bettering the conditions that were prevalent in these two departments.

As to the various activities of the Co-operative Department, I am sorry I shall have no time to refer to them in detail; but I am extremely sorry that my hon'ble friend Mr. P. R. Thakur seems to feel that we are going to make the Registrar the dictator of the department. I should have expected that he has known a little more than this.

As to the Bill, it is before the House and time will show whether we have been able to make any progress or not. Recently we have taken steps to remove some of the pecuniary difficulties of the rural masses inasmuch as we have not only arranged for long term credit through Land Mortgage Banks, but we have also arranged for short term credit through the Bengal Provincial Bank which has been giving money to the Central Banks for helping the rural masses to get them out of their difficulties.

I am extremely sorry, Sir that my hon'ble friend Mr. P. R. Thakur being a relation-in-law to one of my younger brothers does not hesitate to bring a charge against me; he has not studied these questions at all.

(Mr. PROMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: There is no relationship.)

With regard to these, I do not think I should indulge in terms expressed by Mr. Thakur. With regard to the question of appointments, I am again sorry that he does not know and has not cared to know as to how these things are being done. I remember to have answered three to four dozen of questions in both the House as to the recent appointments that have been made in these two departments placed under my care. True it is that my hon'ble friend Mr. P. R. Thakur put a supplementary question as to whether one or two candidates were relations of mine and I definitely stated "No." And I think he ought to have satisfied himself beforehand whether the candidates who have been appointed were any relations of mine or not. I should have expected him to be a little more careful in criticising me in connection with those appointments.

Sir, I have no desire to waste the time of the House with a long speech, but I submit with all respect that I have truly and honestly discharged the duties with which I have been entrusted to the entire satisfaction of this House and to the public at large.

With these few words, Sir, I deny the charges levelled against me and I oppose the motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question before the House is that this Assembly expresses want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, Minister for Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness.

The motion was then put and lost.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think hon'ble members will be glad to know that we are not meeting till Monday next at 4-45 p.m.

Adjourrment.

The House was then adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Monday, the 15th August, 1938, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

B. G. Press—19.8-39—6184A—800.

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(Official Report.)

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